

The University of Chicago

VARIATIONS
IN *LE CURE DE TOURS*

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

1940

By
RACHEL WILSON

Private Edition, Distributed by
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Avant-propos.* In *Œuvres complètes*, éd. Conard, I, xxv-xxxviii.
- Béch.** Editions published by Mme Charles-Béchet.
- Char.** Editions published by Charpentier.
- Con.** Editions published by Louis Conard.
- Corr.* *Correspondance de H. de Balzac, 1819-1850* (*Œuvres complètes*, éd. Calmann-Lévy, Vol. XXIV).
- Corr. Carraud.* *Correspondance inédite avec Madame Zulma Carraud, 1829-1850*, éd. M. Bouteron (Paris: Armand Colin, 1935).
- Dum.** Editions published by Dumont.
- Fur.** Editions published by Furne, Dubochet et Hetzel.
- Gos.** Editions published by C. Gosselin.
- LEt.* *Lettres à l'Etrangère* (3 vols.; Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1899, 1906, 1933).
- LF.* *Letters to His Family*, ed. W. S. Hastings (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934).
- Lov. Coll.* Lovenjoul Collection.
- Lov., Hist.* Spaelberch de Lovenjoul, Charles de, *Histoire des œuvres de H. de Balzac* (3d ed.; Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1888).
- Mame** Editions published by Mame et Delaunay-Vallée.
- MLN* *Modern Language Notes*.
- MP* *Modern Philology*.
- N.R.F.* *La Comédie humaine*, éditions de la Nouvelle Revue française (10 vols.; Paris, 1935-37).
- OC.* *Œuvres complètes*, éd. Calmann-Lévy (24 vols.; Paris, 1869-76).
- OD.* *Œuvres diverses*, Vols. XX-XXIII of OC.
- PMLA* *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.
- RDM* *Revue des deux mondes*.
- RHL* *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*.
- Sou.** Editions published by Hippolyte Souverain.
- Wer.** Editions published by Werdet.

* This abbreviation may refer to any work of Balzac published by the publisher named; for its exact meaning at any given place the reader is referred to the individual chapters.

CHAPTER III

VARIATIONS IN *LE CURE DE TOURS*

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

THIS study will analyze the variants in the *Curé de Tours* from manuscript¹ to definitive edition. With these two forms of the novel I have compared such proofs as are found at Chantilly in the Lovenjoul Collection² and the texts of the first, second, third, and fourth editions.

The *Curé de Tours*, which is dated "Saint-Firmin, avril 1832," appeared for the first time in May, 1832, under the title of *Les Célibataires*. It was published by Mame-Delaunay and formed a part of the *Scènes de la vie privée*, second edition, Volume III.³ The second edition of the story was brought out by Mme Veuve Charles Béchét in December, 1833 (dated 1834). The title is unchanged, but Balzac has shifted this study of manners once for all to Volume II of the *Scènes de la vie de province*, of which this is the first edition.⁴ In 1839 Charpentier issued the second edition of the *Scènes de la vie de province*, the first volume of which contains our novel under the original title. In 1843, with the addition of the date and its present dedication to "David, statuaire," the story appeared as Vol-

¹ Lov. Coll., A 11.

² *Ibid.*, A 11-A 12. For the manuscript and proofs I have used photostatic copies. These materials, with the exception of one twelve-page proof in photostat which Professor Dargan kindly lent me, are the property of the University of Chicago Libraries. They are catalogued here as "*Les Célibataires (Le Curé de Tours) 1832, Manuscrit et épreuves corrigées (Paris, 1929)*," of which there are two copies, and "*Supplément to Les Célibataires (Le Curé de Tours) 1832, Manuscrit et épreuves corrigées (Paris, 1929)*." I have used copy 1 of the manuscript and author's proofs and copy 2 in case of doubt. Through the courtesy of Professor Walter Scott Hastings, of Princeton University, I have been able to check the *cotes* of these and other materials in his transcript of the catalogue of the Lovenjoul Collection.

³ Lov., *Hist.*, pp. 5, 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 81.

This study, which forms part of the volume entitled *The Evolution of Balzac's "Comédie humaine,"* edited by E. Preston Dargan and Bernard Weinberg (The University of Chicago Press, 1942), contains an occasional textual reference to the complete work.

ume II of the third edition of the same *Scènes*, occupying pages 1-62 of Volume VI of the first edition of the *Comédie humaine*. It was here that the *deuxième histoire* of *Les Célibataires* became one of three and received its present title, *Le Curé de Tours*. The publishers were Furne, Dubochet et Hetzel. The definitive edition of *Le Curé de Tours* is found in Volume IX of the Conard edition, *Œuvres complètes*, edited by Bouteron and Longnon. Our volume appeared in 1913. In this edition *Le Curé de Tours* is, as in the Furne, the second of three stories comprising a group entitled *Les Célibataires*.⁵

The manuscript and the proofs, taken together, furnish a solid basis for a study of the evolution of the story before publication; but they must be used to supplement each other, as no one item is extant in its entirety.

The manuscript, to which we shall refer as "*C.T. 1*," contains sixty-six pages; but pages 1, one-half of 51, and 66 are copies made by Lovenjoul. The duplicate of page 1 has been made from proof 2*b*; pages 51 and 66 have been copied from proof 2*a*. These restorations do not, of course, have the authenticity of the original holograph pages. Page 39 of the manuscript is missing entirely in the photostatic copy. Our earliest proof, 2*a*, is also incomplete. Although the pages of this version are numbered from 1 to 86, they do not include the first part (about one-fifth) of the story. Moreover, six of the eighty-six numbered pages are missing. These are pages 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, and 45. This proof has been cut and pasted on sheets of white paper, the margins of which are used for corrections. The third available early form is a twelve-page proof (*C.T. 2b*). And, lastly, we have two fragments, one of eleven and one of sixteen pages, of page proof (*C.T. 2c*) for the *princeps*.⁶

⁵ The story occupies the following pages in the editions mentioned: Mame-Delaunay, pp. 279-413; Béchet, pp. 31-164; Charpentier, pp. 1-105; Furne, pp. 1-62; Conard, pp. 167-248.

⁶ There are no pages of *C.T. 2a* which correspond either to *C.T. 2b* or to the first fragment of *C.T. 2c*. *C.T. 2b*, p. 1—p. 9, line 9, corresponds to the first fragment of *C.T. 2c*, pp. 279-88. *C.T. 2a*, p. 101, l. 3 (autograph correction)—p. 118, l. 21, corresponds to the second fragment of *C.T. 2c*, pp. 337-52.

C.T. 2a corresponds to—

Mame, p. 309, l. 17—p. 352, l. 6; p. 355, l. 10—p. 356, l. 10; p. 357, l. 23—p. 360, l. 6; p. 362, l. 12—p. 363, l. 12; p. 365, l. 8—p. 413.

Con., p. 184, l. 29—p. 208, l. 30; p. 210, l. 21—p. 211, l. 3; p. 211, l. 32—p. 213, l. 8; p. 214, ll. 14-31; p. 215, l. 28—p. 247, l. 2.

C.T. 2b corresponds to—

Mame, pp. 281-95, l. 21.

Con., pp. 169-77, l. 13.

[Footnote 6 continued on following page]

Le Curé de Tours, short though it is, is one of Balzac's best stories and an excellent example of his genius.⁷ Balzac himself compares the story to *Le Cousin Pons* and calls it "great" and "heartbreaking."⁸ His good friend and critic, Mme Zulma Carraud, wrote him in 1833 that *Birotteau*, as she called *Le Curé de Tours*, was her "œuvre de prédilection"; and she summed up the story as "ce chef-d'œuvre d'une intelligence investigatrice, qui avait trouvé le mystère du prêtre et de la vieille fille."⁹ Stendhal admired the portrayal of provincial life in the novel. In 1838 he wrote in recounting his travels: "J'ai trouvé dans ma chambre un volume de M. de Balzac, c'est l'*Abbé Birotteau*, de Tours. Que j'admire cet auteur! qu'il a bien su énumérer les malheurs et petitessees de la province!"¹⁰ In her study of *Le Curé de Tours* Miss Marhofer has cited the opinions of a number of other writers regarding the novel.¹¹ Recent criticism has not neglected this small Balzacian volume. M. Ferdinand Duviard, in concluding his monograph on Balzac and *Le Curé de Tours*, says:

Ce Curé de Tours, mérite en somme, par son contenu une place éminente dans la *Comédie Humaine*. Il en offre les défauts énormes, et les beautés fulgurantes.

On y trouve, condensé en moins de cent pages, si j'osais dire, "catalytiques," le modèle du réalisme tel que Balzac l'a compris, tel qu'il l'a créé ...¹²

Another contemporary critic, Alain, has praised Balzac's skill in composing the story:

... le commencement de cette nouvelle est admirable par une description de choses petites et sottes (Serai-je chanoine? Me suis-je enrhumé? Pourquoi mon bougeoir ici et non là?). ... Toute la fin de ce court récit consiste en délibérations de province, où les choses et les gens sont réellement pesés à leur poids.¹³

C.T. 2c corresponds to—

Mame, pp. 281-91, l. 15; 337-52, l. 17.

Con., pp. 169-75, l. 9; p. 199, l. 24—p. 209, l. 2.

⁷ For a detailed analysis of *Le Curé de Tours* as representative of Balzac's realism, see Miss Marhofer's study in Dargan, Crain, and Others, *Studies in Balzac's Realism*, pp. 91-120.

⁸ *LEt.*, III, 281.

⁹ *Corr. Carraud*, p. 168.

¹⁰ Stendhal, *Mémoires d'un Touriste*, p. 72.

¹¹ Dargan, Crain, and Others, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105, 113, 114, 116, 119.

¹² *Un Prédécesseur de Ferdinand Fabre, Balzac romancier clérical dans Le Curé de Tours*, p. 49.

¹³ Alain (pseud. of Émile Chartier), *Avec Balzac*, pp. 73-74.

While the critics have perhaps most often commented on the excellent provincial picture drawn in *Le Curé de Tours*, they have also brought out other characteristic Balzacian features in the story, among them the monomaniacs and the conspiracy plot involving the cruel martyrdom of a weak individual by two strong and sinister characters.

Arguing from the principle of zoölogical species, Balzac tells us in the *Avant-propos* of the *Comédie humaine* that society, too, has its species, distinguishable according to *condition*, profession or trade, and habitat.¹⁴ Characteristically we find in *Le Curé de Tours* two types of *célibataires*: priests and old maids. These are further differentiated, the good but weak of each "species" succumbing to the powerful and vindictive. Colors, too, have a symbolic value for Balzac. Thus Mlle Gamard's parlor is keynoted in yellow. Her careless habits of dress and her dull costumes are indicative to Balzac of her warped femininity. His belief in cognomology runs through the story from the first edition to its final form. Mme de Listomère's name is suggestive of her character.

The fact that the action of the novel is laid in Tours, where Balzac was born and where his family lived until 1814, adds color and accent to this provincial scene. How well he knew Saint-Gatien his sister Laure has told us.¹⁵ The shadow of the cathedral is no darker than the lives of Balzac's four celibates who dwelt almost under its great buttresses! The picture of provincial society is not much less somber. Town and cloth are equally implicated in an intrigue in which the law is deviously used. The passages in *Le Curé de Tours* dealing with lawyers are not numerous; but they have been carefully re-worked, and they remind us that Balzac studied law and spent three unhappy years in the offices of a lawyer and a notary.¹⁶ His own lawsuits, too, may have added bitterness to his pen.

The novel is then related in several ways to Balzac's own experience. It illustrates a number of favorite Balzacian theories and devices. It can be studied in a number of forms from manuscript to final edition. These facts make it an interesting subject for a variations study. Let us turn now to an analysis of the numerous changes which Balzac introduced in his story from stage to stage of its evolution.

¹⁴ *Avant-propos*, I, xxvi.

¹⁵ *Corr.*, p. xiii.

¹⁶ L.-J. Arrigon, *Les Débuts littéraires d'Honoré de Balzac*, pp. 2, 3, 9-10, 17; G. Hano-taux et G. Vicaire, *La Jeunesse de Balzac: Balzac imprimeur; Balzac et Madame de Berny*, p. 22.

B. THE *Brouillons* AND THE SEARCH FOR A TITLE

The title of the story has undergone a series of changes. As we know, the story was first called *Les Célibataires*; but Balzac had once thought of naming it *La Vieille Fille*, or perhaps, *Le Prêtre catholique*. Of these two titles, he first chose the former. Moreover, in 1843, when he finally found his definitive title, *Le Curé de Tours*, although he added the explanation at the beginning of the story that the Abbé Birotteau is "le principal personnage de cette histoire" (*Fur.* 1), he did not diminish the role of the old maids. The final title is interesting because it adds to the connotation implied in "curé" the suggestion of the milieu in which this social species will be depicted.

The idea of centering the story around an old maid was strong in Balzac's mind when he began this novel, for there are sixteen false starts bearing the title *La Vieille Fille*.¹⁷ (This title was later used by Balzac, but the story has no connection with *Le Curé de Tours*.¹⁸) Balzac was groping for his opening sentences. Of the sixteen discarded beginnings, nine¹⁹ suggest the opening of the story as we know it today; five²⁰ are variations in shorter form of the passage which now begins: "Jadis, il existait dans le Cloître ...".²¹ One is the brief passage:

Si tout doit avoir une fin dans la société comme dans le monde, il y a certes quelques existences dont il est impossible de deviner le but ou l'utilité. La morale et l'économie politique réprouvent également certains êtres qui consomment sans produire, ou tiennent ici-bas une place sans repandre autour d'eux ni bien ni mal [*MS* 11].

These two sentences, with slight variations, have endured. Today they are imbedded in an analysis of the *vieille fille* found on page 199 of Conard. The last *brouillon* has only the words: "Pourquoi ne soup [*sic*] ...".

The only extant early text of the actual beginning of the story is the proof 2b, from which Lovenjoul copied one page of the manuscript.²²

¹⁷ In the photostatic versions which I have used, ten of these are bound with the manuscript and six are bound in the *Supplement*. Reference to the pages in the *Supplement* will be marked "S." Those from the manuscript will be marked "MS."

¹⁸ M. Bouteron suggests in the third issue of "Les Cahiers balzaciens," *Lettres de femmes adressées à Honoré de Balzac, Première Série (1832-1836)*, that *La Vieille Fille* of 1836 may be Balzac's answer to a criticism of *Les Célibataires* made to him by Mlle Adèle, *une vieille fille*. M. Bouteron adds that Mlle Cormon would hardly have satisfied the critic. Letter viii of this "Cahier" (pp. 23-27), from Mme L. St-H., takes issue also with Balzac for his analysis of *la vieille fille* (in *Le Curé de Tours*).

¹⁹ S. 24, 26, 28, 30, 34; MS 15, 17, 19, 21.

²⁰ S. 32; MS 23, 25, 27, 29.

²¹ Con. 170-71.

²² S. 2. Note in Lovenjoul's handwriting, signed "S. L." (Lov. Coll., A 12).

This version bears the title *La Vieille Fille* and proves Balzac's first intention.

However, the idea of the provincial priest was also in his mind from the first. There are three *brouillons* called today *Le Prêtre catholique*, of which two, according to Lovenjoul, are false starts for *Le Curé de Tours*.²³ In one of these, which we shall call *P.C. 1*,²⁴ a house in the shadow of Saint-Gatien is owned by a widow, Mme Berger, who has lived in it some twelve years with her daughter Mlle Sophie Berger. The mother and daughter have a lodger, a canon of the cathedral, on whom they bestow every attention.²⁵ In this fragment Balzac has applied to the life of the two women the often quoted phrase "l'occupation dans le vide et le vide dans l'occupation" (*S. 31*), which he used subsequently, with slight variations, to describe the Abbé Birotteau's existence (*2a/ms, 116*;²⁶ *Con. 207*). We find also in this early version the substance of page 171 of *Conard*. Even very characteristic phrases of the definitive text occur in the *brouillon*. The expression in *P.C. 1, un lieu plein de physionomie* (*S. 25*), becomes in *Conard, une solitude pleine de physionomie* (*Con. 171*); *une solitude de pierres* (*S. 25*) becomes the *désert de pierres* (*Con. 171*). This fragment is obviously, then, a beginning of our story.

Although *P.C. 1* is nearer the actual story than any of the *brouillons* under the caption of *La Vieille Fille*, Balzac was still clinging to the second title. Each of the six pages of *P.C. 1* has on the verso a false start under the title *La Vieille Fille*.²⁷

There is a second version of *Le Prêtre catholique*, which we shall call *P.C. 2* and which, with its setting in Tours, seems to be yet another start for our novel. In this fragment Balzac introduces a young priest who has many of the Abbé Troubert's traits: among others, his paleness, his mystery, his calm, his lowered eyes, his ill-health, his apparent ambition.²⁸

²³ *S. 22*. Note in Lovenjoul's handwriting (*Lov. Coll., A 196*).

²⁴ *S. 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33*.

²⁵ *Ibid., 27, 29, 33*.

²⁶ The addition of "ms" to a version indicates an autograph correction on a proof. After quotations the manuscript and three proofs will be abbreviated as "1," "2a," "2b," and "2c," respectively. The references to "1" and "2a" relate to the page on which the quotation is found in the bound photostatic copy of *MS*. Although 2b, which is unbound, is printed in the format of pages, no numbers are found, so that it has been necessary to make up a pagination. The separate pages have been numbered consecutively from 1 through 12, and references to this proof are to these numbers. References to 2c relate to the printed number which each page bears.

²⁷ *Ibid., 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34*.

²⁸ *Ibid., 36, 37*. According to Lovenjoul, both *P.C. 1* and *P.C. 2* were written in 1831 or 1832 (*S. 21, 22, 35*). The first page of both fragments is missing. Lovenjoul

The third fragment entitled *Le Prêtre catholique* is dated by Lovenjoul as of 1834.²⁹ This version is quite different from the two preceding, for, although the mysterious and pale young *abbé* reappears with his lowered eyes, the scene has been moved to Angoulême. But *Le Prêtre catholique* was never finished. However, if Lovenjoul's date for *P.C.* 3 is correct, this fragment should probably be connected with the projected novel of that title which Balzac mentions in letters to his sister and to his publisher in October and November, 1833.³⁰

One other title for *Le Curé de Tours* was considered by Balzac. Lovenjoul tells us that Balzac thought for a moment of calling this novel *L'Abbé Troubert*.³¹ This statement is borne out in a letter to Mme Hanska dated October 29 [1842]: "J'avais terminé *les Deux Frères* pendant la nuit de ce jour-là. Ces *Deux Frères* prendront dans la *Comédie Humaine*, le titre de: *un Ménage de Garçon*. C'est la troisième histoire de[s] *Célibataires* et, avec *L'Abbé Troubert* et *Pierrette*, cela complète ce que je voulais écrire sur le célibat."³²

The definitive title was chosen before February 1, 1843. Balzac writes to Mme Hanska on March 2, 1843: "Voici, le 1^{er} février, que dans le sixième volume de la *Comédie Humaine*, le *Curé de Tours* et *un Ménage de Garçon* font, avec *l'Illustre Gaudissart*, vingt-deux feuilles ..."³³

The differences of title are obviously connected with Balzac's conception of his story. Certain other changes that have been mentioned should be recalled.

As we have seen, the story was lifted bodily from the *Scènes de la vie privée* and reset in the *Scènes de la vie de province* in the 1834 edition. This resetting did not necessitate any fundamental re-writing of the story. It was already an account of small or mean lives in a provincial city. A second new feature was the addition for the *Comédie humaine* of the dedication mentioned above. It was also for the Furne edition that Balzac added for the first time the date and place of composition of the novel.

C. THE GENERAL EVOLUTION OF THE STORY

A number of *brouillons* are not our only evidence that Balzac had difficulty in starting this story. He writes to his mother on July 15, 1832: thinks Balzac had called these versions *La Vieille Fille* and that he destroyed these first pages to avoid confusion in his manuscripts. He thinks also that the false start entitled *La Vieille Fille* (*S.* 32), which is written on the back of fol. 6 (*S.* 31) of *P.C.* 1, is a version of one of the destroyed first pages (*S.* 21, 22. Notes in Lovenjoul's handwriting [Lov. Coll., A 196]).

²⁹ *S.* 42. Note in Lovenjoul's handwriting (Lov. Coll., A 196).

³⁰ *LF.*, p. 133; *Corr.*, p. 189.

³² *LET.*, II, 73.

³¹ Lov., *Hist.*, p. 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

"Madame de B[erny] a bien vu à Saint-Firmin, ce que c'était que le travail de tête. Il m'a fallu dix jours avant d'inventer et de penser *Les Célibataires*."³⁴ The plot, however, is fixed in the main lines in the manuscript. Balzac may fumble for a title, thus shifting the sociological accent; but the characteristic central theme, that of the martyr done to death, will not change.

However, probably no better example could be found to show how Balzac poured his energy out in the correction of detail. Swamped, as he always was, with proof and copy, he was nonetheless tormented by his desire to express himself well and circumstantially.³⁵ One would naturally expect the greatest number of variations in the early versions of the story and in the editions which appeared when Balzac was reorganizing his scheme. Our study of the variants confirms this supposition. Moreover, Balzac's letters to Mme Hanska at the time he was getting ready the first edition of the *Scènes de la vie de province* and that of the *Comédie humaine* bear witness to the careful rehandling he gave the story for these editions.³⁶

There are in all the texts examined a total of approximately five thousand variants.³⁷ Of these the greatest number, about 63 per cent, occur between the manuscript and the *princeps*.³⁸ Between Mame and Béchét there is not only the usual revision of detail, but there are important additions. Between Béchét and Charpentier the only changes are a few corrections of obvious errors. Between Charpentier and Furne there is, as elsewhere in the first edition of the *Comédie humaine*, a definite effort to compress the story typographically. There is a general tendency to take out titles—to change, for example, *monsieur l'abbé* to *l'abbé*—and to cut out paragraph divisions wherever possible. There are, of course, other types of changes. Between Furne and Conard paragraphs are still further reduced in number, since Balzac strikes out nineteen paragraph divisions on his Furne copy of *Le Curé de Tours*. He indicates also a few mechanical variations, such as capital letters for small. The changes in the text are, at this stage, so slight that these variations may be said statistically to have no importance. Table 1 shows the number of changes made as the story took

³⁴ *LF.*, p. 87.

³⁵ See his letter of 1839 to Louis Desnoyers, *Corr.*, p. 332.

³⁶ *LEt.*, I, 64, letter of October 26, 1833; I, 74, November 6, 1833; I, 87, November 20, 1833; II, 73, October 29, 1842; II, 120, March 2, 1843.

³⁷ The figures here and elsewhere in this study are approximate, since it is impossible to control this kind of material with absolute accuracy.

³⁸ This term will be used for brevity instead of the more usual *édition originale*.

its definitive form. Of the approximately one thousand sentences which compose the Conard edition, there are only twenty-nine that do not represent a revision at some stage of the story.

Stylistically, one characteristic stands out as true for all versions. There is a steady tendency to break up sentences. The sentences are frequently long and involved in the manuscript, sometimes incorrect. These are naturally shortened, but the process continues from edition to edition.

TABLE 1
APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF CHANGES IN TEXT

Changes	Manuscript (C.T. 1) to Early Proofs	Proofs to <i>Princeps</i>	Mame to Conard
Stylistic (including sentence divisions) . .	525	2,750	1,730
Realistic	15	82	128

About $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the sentences have been broken up. The opposite change, of combining sentences, occurs about one-third as often.

II. VARIATIONS

Let us turn now to a detailed study of the variations themselves. These will be considered first stylistically and then with regard to Balzac's general realistic method and technique, following the outline as suggested by Professor Dargan in his study of Balzac's realism.³⁹

The variations will be arranged in three groups: first, those changes that Balzac introduced between his manuscript and the incomplete proofs; second, the changes between the proofs and the *princeps*; third, the changes that were introduced after the first edition, whether in Béchet, Furne, or Conard. This arrangement involves a certain inevitable monotony but has been adopted to show not only what corrections Balzac tended to make in general in his revisions but also that particular changes are characteristic of certain periods of the story's evolution.

The stylistic variations have been studied from the standpoint of sentence structure, rhetorical devices, and parts of speech. They convince the student that Balzac was working toward greater accuracy, concision, and clearness. They are not, of course, invariably happy. They far outnumber, as is usually true of Balzac's corrections, the realistic variations, constituting about 95 per cent of the changes.

³⁹ Dargan, Crain, and Others, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-32.

A. CHANGES FROM *Manuscript* (C.T. 1) TO EARLY PROOFS (2a, 2b, 2c)

I. STYLISTIC VARIATIONS

a) *According to sentence structure.*—Balzac's changes in sentence structure are frequent. Sometimes they may leave one in doubt as to his purpose, as they do when he shifts back and forth between two constructions seemingly without reason. One example of this practice will suffice to illustrate the point.

In the manuscript Balzac wrote of the Abbé Birotteau: "... il ne tira pas sa montre sans effroi en voyant quatre heures et quelques minutes. *Or, connaissant* la ponctualité de Mademoiselle Gamard, il se hâta de se rendre au logis ..." (1, 50).⁴⁰ When he corrected 2a, he joined these two sentences by substituting "car il connaissait" for "Or, connaissant" (2a/ms, 112). The dependent construction was, however, promptly struck out when it appeared in the text of 2c. The new sentence was again broken into two, the second beginning: "Connaissant" (2c/ms, 346). This form is found in *Mame* (346), but in *Béchet* (93) Balzac returned to the finite form and began his sentence: "Il connaissait." This construction he did not change in subsequent editions.

Whatever stylistic sense urged Balzac to alternate finite and participial constructions, the change is a frequent one in all versions of the text. Substitutions of one of these forms for the other occur fourteen times between the manuscript and proofs and often involve the breaking-up of sentences. Sometimes the change has no great effect and yet adds smoothness to the style, as in the example cited below. Here the substitution of the participial phrase, which makes possible also the omission of the conjunction *et*, breaks up a long succession of clauses:

... quelques vestiges de l'arcade gothique qui <i>s'harmoniait</i> sans doute avec l'ensemble du monument <i>et</i> formait jadis le portail ...	[2b, 3]	... quelques vestiges de l'arcade gothique qui, <i>s'harmoniant</i> avec l'ensemble du monument, formait jadis le portail ...	[2c, 282; <i>Mame</i> 284] ⁴¹
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⁴⁰ Unless otherwise noted, italics are used to indicate variations between texts.

⁴¹ When a given change persists essentially down through Conard, a plus sign (+) is attached to the last reference cited. When, however, the text is altered, a second reference is given to show the last version in which the variation occurred. In both cases, other changes may, of course, occur in the passage. When the texts which are being compared do not follow each other chronologically, there is no extant intervening version of the passage quoted. All quotations are given as in the original texts, including idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation.

Sometimes Balzac makes the opposite change:

... les meubles d'acajou, et le tapis	... les meubles d'acajou, et le tapis
d'Aubusson <i>décorant</i> cette vaste pièce	d'Aubusson <i>qui ornaient</i> cette vaste
peinte à neuf ...	pièce peinte à neuf ...
[2b, 9]	[2c, 288+]

The reason here is obvious. In the preceding sentence Balzac has replaced the phrase of *C.T.* 1, 8, "en arrangeant le salon" by "en décorant le salon" (2b/ms, 8+). The change of "décorant" in the above sentence to "qui ornaient" may be taken as typical of the great number of variations of this sort which Balzac introduced in the course of his revisions.

The following example illustrates the change from finite verb to participial construction and shows Balzac working toward a smoother style:

Néanmoins, <i>comme</i> le pavé du cloître	Néanmoins, le pavé du cloître <i>étant</i>
<i>est</i> toujours sec, et <i>que</i> l'abbé Biroteau	toujours sec, et l'abbé Biroteau <i>ayant</i>
<i>venait de gagner</i> trois livres dix sous ...	<i>gagné</i> trois livres dix sous ...
[2b, 2]	[2c, 280; Char. 2]

Changes of this sort seem to occur more frequently in dependent, than in independent, clauses. The proportion is about eight to one. The reason may be the large number of sentences that are broken up into shorter sentences where the finite verb is needed.

However, independent clauses are frequently reduced to dependent constructions by this type of alteration, as is seen in the examples below:

Or, feu l'abbé Chapeloud chanoine de	Or, feu l'abbé Chapeloud, chanoine de
Saint-Gatien <i>était</i> l'ami intime, de	Saint-Gatien, <i>ayant été</i> l'ami intime de
l'abbé Biroteau ...	l'abbé Biroteau ...
[2b, 5]	[2c, 284; Mame 286]

Independent clauses are also replaced by relative clauses. This change produces a more compact style. In speaking of Biroteau's faithfulness to Chapeloud, Balzac originally used an independent co-ordinate clause, "et son amitié resta la même" (1, 9). This becomes, with some re-writing, "dont l'amitié resta toujours la même" (2b/ms, 10+). This form evidently satisfied Balzac, because he does not touch it again.

Another means by which Balzac works for an easier and more closely woven style is by substituting for either independent or dependent clauses a past participle. The following case is characteristic:

Cette maison étant au nord de Saint-	Cette maison, étant au nord de Saint-
Gatien se trouve toujours dans l'ombre	Gatien, se trouve continuellement
<i>que projette</i> cette grande cathédrale ...	dans les ombres <i>projetées</i> par cette
[2b, 3-4]	grande cathédrale ... [2c, 282+]

The total number of variations for sentence structure between the manuscript and proofs is forty-five. Of these the greatest number are in

dependent clauses. This fact is largely explained, as has been said, by the tendency throughout the versions to break the many long sentences of the manuscript into shorter ones, in which participial constructions and clauses cannot replace the finite verb.

b) *According to rhetorical devices.*—An amplification is defined as the elaboration of an expression. In the manuscript and proof corrections of his story Balzac uses this process seven times. His purpose may be, at times, to replace a colorless expression, as in the following illustration, in which the keen social observation in the revision heightens the reader's sense of the *abbé's* persecution by the mean old maid:

Ces contrariétés devinrent constantes ... [2a, 115]

Les mille et une contrariétés qu'une servante peut faire subir à son maître, ou une femme à un mari dans les habitudes privées de la vie, furent devinées par Mademoiselle Gamard ... [2c, 348+]

Or Balzac may elaborate an expression simply to clarify his idea, as he does in the following example:

... [les vieilles filles] sont jalouses à vide, et ne connaissent que les malheurs de la seule passion *qui se pardonne*. [2a, 102]

... elles sont jalouses à vide, et ne connaissent que les plus affreux malheurs de la seule passion *que les hommes pardonnent parce qu'elle les flatte*. [2c, 339+]

Additions are used in much the same way as are amplifications. Balzac introduces them to heighten an effect, to complete an expression, to clarify, or simply to define. In the following example Balzac has made many changes, but it is the addition of the final prepositional phrase that sharpens our impression of the unequal struggle we are witnessing:

La vieille fille, heureuse de vivre par un sentiment aussi plein que celui de la vengeance, se plaisait à planer sur Birotteau, comme un oiseau de proie sur un mulot, à lui peser ... [2a, 116]

Heureuse de vivre par un sentiment aussi fertile en émotions que l'est celui de la vengeance, la vieille fille se plaisait à planer sur le vicaire, comme un oiseau de proie sur un mulot *avant de le dévorer ...* [2c, 349+]

An addition may quite simply clarify:

Le hasard voulut qu'il trouvât heureusement pour lui beaucoup d'occupation à Saint-Gatien, où il fit plusieurs enterremens, un mariage et deux baptêmes ... [2a, 112]

Il trouva par hasard et heureusement pour lui beaucoup d'occupation à Saint-Gatien, où il se fit plusieurs enterremens, un mariage et deux baptêmes; *alors il put oublier ses chagrins*. [2c, 346+]

The total number of additions from the manuscript through 2c is exactly half a hundred.

Balzac thickened his texts more often than he thinned them. This tendency is well illustrated in the early versions of this story. Nevertheless, he had to correct and prune the hastily written manuscript. In correcting his proofs Balzac seems to have concentrated on getting rid of *remplissages*. There are fifteen omissions and eighteen compressions at this stage of the novel.

In the example below he has improved a wordy and really bad clause. The first revision is not the best that Balzac can do, but it is a smoother and more compact expression than the original. It is not, however, until the Mame edition that the expression is effectively shortened:

... si la conscience *que nous avons de*
l'utilité dont nous sommes aux autres
nous donne un sentiment de satisfac-
tion ... [2a, 101]

... si la conscience *de notre utilité pour*
les autres donne à l'être agissant un sen-
timent de satisfaction ... [2c, 337]

... si la conscience de *son* utilité donne
à l'être agissant un sentiment de satis-
faction ... [Mame 337]⁴²

How slowly the passage evolved, but how revealing it is of the effort Balzac made to write concisely! Surely the man who had the patience to go over and over his material in this minute fashion had a sense of the inadequacies of his style!

In studying the corresponding pages of the early versions of the story from the manuscript through 2c, we find that Balzac has omitted five sentences and an occasional clause and phrase. The sentences went because they repeated what had already been said. In one case, omitting the clause resulted in a rhythmical and closely knit phrase, whereas the original expression was jerky and cumbersome at the same time:

... la nature des persécutions *qu'il* ... la nature de ses chagrins interdisait
éprouvait, interdisait à Birotteau ... à Birotteau ... [2c, 349+]
[2b, 116]

Balzac corrected his texts frequently by transposing sentences or parts of sentences. A comparison of the passages of which there is more than one proof shows that there are thirty-one transpositions within sentences.

⁴² In *Fur.* 25+, "travail" replaces "utilité."

These are frequently made to bring together the verb and its subject or its object (2a, 116; 2c, 349+, and 2a, 117; 2c, 350+). In the following instance the rearrangement gives to the sentence a climactic ending in keeping with the tragedy that we are witnessing:

... la vieille fille lui dit d'un son de voix où <i>la joie de le trouver en faute et le re-</i> <i>proche se peignaient également</i> ...	... la vieille fille lui dit d'un son de voix où <i>se peignaient également le reproche et</i> <i>la joie de la trouver en faute</i> ...
[2a, 112]	[2c, 347+]

In the example below, the words "clochers" and "cloches" follow each other too closely in the original text; and, furthermore, the short final phrase gives an unfinished and jarring effect. Balzac avoids these errors in his revision by placing the phrase before the two longer expressions:

... interrompu seulement <i>par le chant</i> <i>des offices</i> qui bourdonne au dehors de l'église, ou bien par les cris des choucas logés dans le sommet des clochers, <i>ou</i> <i>par le bruit des cloches.</i>	... interrompu seulement <i>par le bruit</i> <i>des cloches, par le chant des offices,</i> qui franchit les murs de l'église, ou par les cris des choucas logés dans le sommet des clochers.
[2b, 4]	[2c, 282+]

The above examples suffice to show the importance of transpositions in Balzac's corrections.

Variations involving figures of speech are rare between the manuscript and the proofs. One familiar metaphor Balzac does retouch, though none too successfully:

... Birotteau ne pouvant plus douter qu'il vivait <i>sous l'œil de la haine</i> la plus active, <i>sous un œil</i> qui ne som- meillait jamais ...	... Birotteau ne pouvait plus douter qu'il vécût <i>sous le sceptre d'une haine</i> <i>dont l'œil</i> était toujours ouvert sur lui.
[2a, 116]	[2c, 348]

Balzac himself was not satisfied with this figure. In Béchet 95+ he replaced "sceptre" by "empire," but the metaphor is still badly mixed.

In the next case we have an example of Balzac's use of figures of speech which are applicable to the calling of his characters. The substituted figure is not only more unusual but, with the addition, serves to explain more clearly why the gouty *abbé* does not mind getting caught in a sudden downpour:

Puis, <i>il avait les pieds chaussés d'un</i> <i>canonicat</i> , caressait sa chimère, un désir déjà vieux de vingt ans, son désir de tous les soirs, sur le point de s'ac- complir ...	Puis, en ce moment il caressait sa chimère, un désir déjà vieux de douze ans, son désir de tous les soirs qui était sur le point de s'accomplir, et <i>il s'enveloppait trop bien dans l'aumusse</i> <i>d'n canonicat pour sentir l'intempérie</i> ⁴³ <i>de l'air.</i>
[2b, 2]	[2c, 280+]

⁴³ 2b/ms reads here "les intempéries," and Balzac corrects 2c to read thus also.

This concludes our analysis of the early changes involving rhetorical devices. Amplifications and additions are characteristically more numerous in the proofs than are compressions and omissions. However, whether Balzac elaborates his text or condenses it, his first aim is clearness and exactness. Other stylistic effects, such as vividness, movement, and smoothness are his second goal. Transpositions are frequently made in an effort to bring together the logically related elements in a sentence. Changes in word order are also effected for the sake of emphasis and occasionally for that of sound. The figures of speech introduced between the manuscript and proofs are few in number, but they are none the less typical. Balzac's rhetorical figures do not always escape banality; but when he invents a figure, it is usually arresting because it expresses so aptly the *condition* of a character or harmonizes so exactly with a description.

In the small number of pages for which there exists more than one proof, there are one hundred and twenty-five changes involving rhetorical devices. As there are, in all, some five hundred variations in these pages, we may, perhaps, conclude that rhetorical devices would account for about one-quarter of the stylistic changes which Balzac made in correcting the proofs of this story.

c) *According to parts of speech.*—Balzac's verbal corrections are, of course, important and numerous. Between the manuscript and the proofs there are some three hundred and thirty-five changes which affect words. Throughout all the versions of the story these small corrections tend to make his style more accurate, more exact, and often more colorful. We shall, for purposes of convenience, classify these variations according to the parts of speech, which will be further subdivided into substitutions, additions, and omissions. Between the manuscript and proofs the parts of speech most frequently affected are verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions.

There are eighty changes involving verbs. Omissions are rare, and even additions are infrequent. Substitutions, on the other hand, are very common. In the following example both omission and addition are effected by a simple transposition. Mlle Gamard's remark on the vicar's tardiness at dinner becomes blunter in the process:

... vous devez savoir que nous ne nous		Vous savez que nous ne devons pas nous
attendons jamais!	[2a, 115]	attendre!
		[2c, 347+]

In the instance below, the omission of the auxiliary gives a more conver-

sational tone to the Abbé Chapeloud's remarks to his friend Birotteau. The canon is lauding Mlle Gamard's housekeeping. This speech becomes even more natural in the first edition, where Balzac shortens and, so to speak, harmonizes the last clause by further omissions:

Je trouve toujours chaque chose en
place ... mes meubles *sont* frottés, et
tout est si bien essuyé que ... [1, 10]

Je trouve toujours chaque chose en
place ... mes meubles frottés, et *tout est*
si bien essuyé que ... [2b, 12]

Je trouve toujours chaque chose en
place ... mes meubles frottés, et *tou-*
jours si bien essuyés que ...

[Mame 295+]

In one case involving both addition and substitution Balzac has not only achieved grace but has enhanced the imagery of a sentence that was originally both heavy and unevocative because of a colorless verb and the stark enumeration with which it ended. This happy effect was not, however, completely attained until the *princeps*. Balzac, in describing Mlle Gamard's house, tells us that it lies continually in the shadow of Saint-Gatien:

... cette grande cathédrale sur laquelle
le tems a jetté son manteau noir, et
mis ses rides, ses mousses, ses herbes,
son froid humide. [2b, 4]⁴⁴

... cette grande cathédrale, sur laquelle
le temps a jeté son manteau noir, *im-*
primé et semé ses rides, son froid hu-
mide, ses mousses, ses hautes herbes.

[2c, 282]

... cette grande cathédrale, sur laquelle
le temps a jeté son manteau noir, *im-*
primé ses rides, et *semé* son froid hu-
mide, ses mousses, ses hautes herbes.

[Mame 284+]

Cases of substitution occur fifty-three times. Many of these changes

⁴⁴ 2b/ms reads: "... noir, *imprimé* ses rides, son froid humide, et *semé* ses mousses, ses hautes herbes."

are made to avoid repetitions. There is a tendency to replace the verb *être* by other, more specific verbs, such as, for example, *devenir* (2a, 115-16; 2c, 348; *Char.* 49) and *paraître* (2a, 116; 2c, 349+). The substituted verb may suggest a much more concrete image, as in the following case:

... et malgré les chaussons de flanelle	... et malgré les chaussons de flanelle
dont il <i>enveloppait</i> en tout temps ses	dont il <i>s'empaquetait</i> les pieds en tout
pieds ... [2b, 2]	temps ... [2c, 280+]

The substitution in the next example was made for the sake of accuracy:

... les personnes habituellement réunies chez madame de Listomère lui	... les personnes habituellement réunies chez madame de Listomère lui
<i>avaient assuré</i> que la place de chanoine,	<i>avaient presque garanti</i> sa nomination
vacante au chapitre ... lui serait donné ... [2b, 2]	à une place de chanoine, alors vacante au chapitre ... [2c, 280-81+]

It may be that the substitution of another word in a phrase led Balzac to change his verb, as when he replaced "accomplir ce vœu" (2b, 5) by "satisfaire cette cupidité" (2c, 285+).

Balzac's tendency to replace a single verb by two should be mentioned. Sometimes he merely incumbers his style, as when he changes "avait pris" (2b, 5) to "s'était chargée d'entretenir" (2c, 284+).

There are fifty variations involving nouns. Twelve of these changes are omissions, eight are additions, and thirty are substitutions. In general, superfluous nouns are omitted. In the following example the omission of the noun avoids redundancy in the revised text. The Tourangeaux do not criticize Mlle Gamard for owning a "bien national" under the Restoration:

... soit que les gens religieux lui supposassent l'intention de le léguer au chapitre <i>par son testament</i> ... [2b, 4]	... soit que les gens religieux lui supposassent l'intention de le léguer au chapitre ... [2c, 283+]
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Nouns are usually added for the sake of emphasis. For example, when the vicar asked Troubert to intercede with Mlle Gamard in his behalf, the canon

fit une de ces réponses qu'il fallait étudier longtemps avant d'en bien comprendre toute la portée ... [2a, 118]	fit une de ces réponses dont il fallait étudier longtemps <i>toutes les paroles</i> avant d'en bien comprendre la portée ... [2c, 352]
--	--

This passage is almost entirely re-written for the Furne edition where the meaning is made even more specific: "... le chanoine fit une de ces réponses dont toutes les paroles devaient être long-temps étudiées pour que leur portée *fût entièrement mesurée*" (*Fur.* 31+).

Substitutions are frequently made to avoid repetitions. A favorite device is to exchange proper and common nouns. Having introduced the word "ami" just above the phrase "l'appartement de son ami" (2b, 9), Balzac naturally changes this expression to "l'appartement de Chapeloud" (2c, 288+). In re-writing the following clause Balzac was led by his sense of the *mot propre* to substitute a word connoting greater cruelty, a more exact noun:

Tant que <i>l'inimitié</i> de la vieille fille	Tant que la vieille fille avait sourde-
avait été sourde ... [2a, 116]	ment exercé sa <i>vengeance</i> ... [2c, 348+]

Again, the substituted noun may be a more evocative term, as it is in the case cited below. Balzac has told us that Chapeloud and Birotteau were sons of peasants. In revising his text he consequently seeks to suggest their poverty more strongly. The added adjective emphasizes still further their slender means:

... ils avaient épuisé toutes leurs <i>res-</i>	... ils avaient épuisé leurs minces <i>éco-</i>
<i>sources</i> à passer le temps malheureux	<i>nomies</i> à passer le temps malheureux
de la révolution. [2b, 6]	de la révolution. [2c, 285+]

Another substitution should be mentioned. To call Troubert Birotteau's "collègue" (2a, 118) may be exact, but it tells the reader nothing. To call him "ce prêtre mystérieux" (2c, 351+) is equally exact, and at the same time it sums up dramatically what Balzac has been saying about the canon in the immediately preceding sentences.

Variations involving verbs and nouns are much more frequent than those for the other parts of speech. However, adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions are concerned in the variants almost as often as are nouns and verbs. The other parts of speech are more rarely varied.

Changes affecting pronouns do not occur often in the early versions of *Le Curé de Tours*. There are only seventeen such variations. Balzac had the habit, which became even more pronounced later, of replacing pronouns by nouns. The next example illustrates this tendency. In describing Chapeloud's bookcase Balzac writes:

C'était un très beau morceau ... [2b, 7]	Cette <i>bibliothèque</i> était un très beau
	morceau ... [2c, 286]

Later, in *Fur.* 5+, Balzac omits the clause entirely, as it is redundant. The next case is even more typical of this kind of variation than is the example just quoted. Balzac is analyzing the unhappiness of old maids, of whom he says:

... <i>elles</i> éprouvent toujours une gêne	... <i>les vieilles filles</i> éprouvent toujours
intérieure ... [2a, 103]	une gêne intérieure ... [2c, 340+]

Adjectives and adjectival phrases are varied some forty-seven times between the manuscript and proofs. Substitutions are more frequent than are omissions and additions. We have seen in the discussion of nouns how an added adjective was used for stylistic effect by Balzac. The cases of omission are rare and unimportant. Substitutions occur twenty-six times. The changes are, characteristically, often made for the sake of definiteness. The substituted phrase may be more evocative, as well as more exact. The cruel Mlle Gamard takes delight in yielding to

un sentiment aussi <i>plein</i> que celui de	un sentiment aussi <i>fertile en émotions</i>
la vengeance ...	que l'est celui de la vengeance ...

[2c, 349+]

One substitution is particularly interesting because it shows us that Balzac sought new and unusual adjectives. However, in this instance he quite correctly abandoned his scientific term. In describing Mlle Gamard's stiff, queer gestures he says:

Ses mouvements avaient une soudaineté <i>télégraphique</i> ...	Ses mouvements avaient une soudaineté <i>bizarre</i> ...
--	--

[2a, 105]

[2c, 342+]

Variations involving adverbs and adverbial phrases occur forty-one times. There are seven omissions, five substitutions, and twenty-nine additions. The omitted adverbs are frequently introductory phrases, such as *en effet* (1, 9; 2b/ms, 11+) or *du reste* (2a, 105; 2c, 341+). Sometimes Balzac is uncertain whether to omit an adverb or not. Mlle Gamard's false hair gives both the author and the wearer some difficulty! Her *tour* is said to be "*assez souvent* mal bouclé" (2a, 104), "*mal bouclé*" (2c, 341), "*presque toujours* mal bouclé" (*Mame* 341), and, finally, "*assez mal bouclé*" (*Béch.* 89+). The definitive version suggests, as did 2c, that Mlle Gamard is invariably untidy. A telling substitution has to do with an expression of time. The intensity of the amended phrase brings out more clearly the progression of the Abbé Birotteau's tragic suffering:

... <i>chaque jour</i> la terreur que lui causait la perspective d'une explication avec Mademoiselle Gamard s'étant accrue ...	... la terreur que lui causait la perspective d'une explication avec mademoiselle Gamard s'étant accrue <i>de jour en jour</i> ...
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[2a, 117]

[2c, 350+]

Adverbs are added usually for the sake of clearness or emphasis—for clearness in the following instance:

... tout le mobilier que le pauvre chanoine put y mettre consistait en un lit, une table ...	... tout le mobilier que le pauvre chanoine put <i>d'abord</i> y mettre, consistait en un lit, une table ...
--	--

[2b, 7]

[2c, 286+]

The adverb has been inserted for emphasis in the example quoted below. The Abbé Chapeloud delighted in his spotless apartment:

While these variations are small, they add vividness and life to the style. Their very number makes them significant.

Variations affecting conjunctions are also notable for their frequency. They occur forty-nine times. There are fifteen cases of substitution, twelve of addition, and twenty-two of omission. The conjunction *et* is more frequently affected than any other. It is omitted thirteen times, added five, and replaced by different conjunctions seven times. The omissions are usually due to the breaking-up of the long and often badly organized original sentences. In the re-writing, one sentence becomes two or more, and the superfluous conjunctions are dropped, as, for example, in the instance following:

Alors, Chapeloud se mit chez mademoi- selle Gamard, <i>et</i> lorsque Birotteau ...	Ce fut alors que Chapeloud se mit chez mademoiselle Gamard. Lorsque Birot- teau ...
[2 <i>b</i> , 6]	[2 <i>c</i> , 285+]

Other examples show how the addition of the conjunction *et* was used to effect a more evenly flowing style (2*a*, 104; 2*c*, 340+) or to achieve variety (2*a*, 101; 2*c*, 337+).

As regards the other conjunctions, variations affecting *car* are the most numerous, and these occur only five times. This conjunction, so frequently omitted in the Béchét text, as we shall see, was struck out only twice in the proofs (2*b*, 8; 2*c*, 287+). It was added twice (1, 9-10; 2*b*/ms, 11; *Mame* 294, and 2*a*, 112; 2*c*, 346+), and it was replaced by *et* once (2*b*, 6; 2*c*, 285).

Variations involving other parts of speech are infrequent and unimportant. Articles are concerned in nine of the changes; prepositions in eight. In no case is the style appreciably affected.

The total number of verbal corrections of all sorts is impressive when compared to the other kinds of variations. It is evident that Balzac spent much time in his effort to discover the exact word, whether it was an essential verb or a small conjunction. That he so often did find the expression he sought is witnessed by the fact that the *mot propre* is considered a salient trait of his style.

To conclude our study of the stylistic variations in the manuscript and proof versions of *Le Curé de Tours* we note first the slowness with which the text evolved. The manuscript is frequently incorrect: words are misspelled; sentences and paragraphs are run together regardless of topic; ideas are repeated, or they are suggested but not developed. In

short, Balzac did not stop for correctness in the heat of composition. As each proof was returned to him, he patiently weeded out the errors, but not always all of them each time. Sometimes his manuscript changes on the proofs were themselves incorrect! However, from proof to proof the paragraphs are reorganized, the sentences are shortened, the style is usually improved ultimately. There is an obvious effort to avoid repetitions, padding, and obscurity. Balzac's ideal of truth led him to make the minute verbal corrections which we have discussed. These small variations involving the parts of speech are significant not only because of their frequency but because they often contribute color and movement to the style.

Balzac will introduce many stylistic variations in his text as the editions succeed each other. The general trend of these changes will not, however, be greatly different from that of the proof corrections. His main stylistic objectives will always be clearness and exactness.

2. REALISTIC VARIATIONS (BETWEEN MANUSCRIPT AND PROOFS)

The realistic variations are always far less numerous than those which Balzac introduced for the sake of style. They are, on the other hand, always interesting, whereas the stylistic and linguistic changes are often routine corrections. The realistic variations may involve Balzac's general realistic qualities, or they may be due to his narrative technique.⁴⁵ Let us consider, then, under these two headings the realistic changes found in the corresponding pages of the manuscript and proofs.

a) *General realistic qualities*.—We may quickly enumerate the few changes of a general realistic nature. In the *Avant-propos* Balzac tells us that the novel must be "vrai dans les détails."⁴⁶ Hence we find him, in the following example, bringing his story closer to actuality—that is, to truth—by adding a detail which is essential to an accurate depicting of the situation:

... l'abbé Birotteau s'imagina qu'il empêchait mademoiselle Gamard et le chanoine de se promener, et *cette idée grossie par sa bonté* lui fit abandonner la place.

[2a, 112]

... l'abbé Birotteau s'imagina qu'il empêchait mademoiselle Gamard et le chanoine de se promener. *Cette idée inspirée tout à la fois par la crainte et par la bonté*, prit un tel accroissement qu'elle lui fit abandonner la place ...

[2c, 346+]

⁴⁵ Dargan, Crain, and Others, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-31.

⁴⁶ *Con.* I, xxiii.

The materialistic viewpoint—the emphasis on things—is illustrated in two cases. Balzac often raises sums of money from one version to another, and we find him here changing the legacy inherited by Chapeloud from "mille francs" (2*b*, 7) to "deux mille francs" (2*c*, 286+). He adds to the furnishings of Mlle Gamard's dining-room a barometer⁴⁷ and eliminates the enumeration of the obvious articles:

... dans laquelle [la salle à manger] il n'y avait que deux consoles, <i>un buffet</i> , <i>des chaises, et une table</i> ...	[2 <i>a</i> , 106]	... dans laquelle il n'y avait que deux consoles pour tout ornement et <i>un</i> <i>baromètre</i> ...	[2 <i>c</i> , 343+]
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One interesting sociological phrase which emphasizes succinctly both the species and the milieu is substituted for a longer expression; Balzac is speaking of Mlle Gamard's rooms:

<i>Enfin les deux pièces situées au rez de chaussée, sous son appartement, et où elle recevait ses deux pensionnaires étaient en rapport avec sa physionomie et ses idées. Un papier verni représen- tant des paysages turcs ornait les murs de la salle à manger</i> ...	[2 <i>a</i> , 106]	<i>Cette figure typique du genre vieille fille</i> ⁴⁸ <i>était très bien encadrée par les gro- tesques inventions d'un papier verni représentant des paysages turcs</i> ...	[2 <i>c</i> , 343+]
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Other general realistic changes occur, as we shall see, at different stages of the revision of the novel.

b) Technical elements.—At only one time in correcting this story did Balzac shift his material in blocks. These transpositions were made when he revised 2*a* for the printer.

Let us first examine the whole passage that was rearranged, as it appears in the manuscript. Balzac has just finished his exposition, and the morning of the second day of Mlle Gamard's open persecution of Birotteau has dawned. The vicar, the canon, and their hostess are seated at breakfast. Birotteau expects Mlle Gamard to apologize, at least, for his having been locked out the night before, and he is appalled to have her tell him that his coming in late has disturbed her rest. In the manuscript the narrative is here interrupted by the reference to Mlle Gamard as an excellent illustration of the "nature élégiaque et désolée de la vieille fille" (1, 41). Sitting there opposite Birotteau, Balzac interpolates, she looks so sulky and catlike that the poor priest, seeing her for the first time with open eyes, wonders why he never noticed before the lack of goodness in

⁴⁷ Cf. Jared Wenger, *The Province and the Provinces in the Work of Honoré de Balzac*, p. 38, for the "fanatical deference" which Balzac's provincials felt for a barometer.

⁴⁸ Balzac italicized "vieille fille."

her face. This observation serves as a transition to Mlle Gamard's appearance. Balzac tells us that she is rather tall, that she is "d'une seule pièce," and that she walks like the Commander! Her face, he continues, is in accord with her attitude, because life makes the soul and "l'âme fait la physionomie" (I, 41). Here Balzac introduces an analysis of the old maid as a social species. He then loops back to the physical portrait of Mlle Gamard; next he proceeds to the description of her dining-room and salon, and, to complete our impression of the old maid's personality, he brings her pet, a fat old pug dog, into the picture. Such was the person, he adds, in whom Birotteau had awakened the only passion of which she was capable—hate. At this point in the manuscript Balzac returns to the breakfast scene. He tells us where the two *abbés* and their hostess are seated at table and discloses Birotteau's consternation at Mlle Gamard's rigid silence, for she has said nothing since her spiteful complaint about being kept awake. The vicar is suffering acutely because he believes that talking at meals is good for the health. Mlle Gamard agrees with this theory, as heretofore she has responded willingly to the Abbé Birotteau's platitudes. Here Balzac recounts at length what these two provincials discussed every morning. This particular morning, however, Mlle Gamard is so angry that Birotteau's tongue is frozen. Nevertheless, unable to bear the silence, he hazards the remark that the coffee is excellent. He receives no answer. He tries again; commanding all his self-respect and courage, he observes: "Il fera plus beau aujourd'hui qu'hier" No reply! Mademoiselle glances graciously at Troubert, then glares at Birotteau, who fortunately has looked away. Finally Troubert, who seems to come out of his reverie for the sake of politeness, answers: "Oui, il fera beau."

It is obvious that in this first version the several themes are woven into a somewhat irregular pattern. In the revision in 2a the outline is more symmetrical. Balzac first combines all the scattered material relating to the breakfast scene which he is depicting. Isolated bits—for example, the seating arrangements in the dining-room and the description of the spoiled old dog—are brought together and completely re-written to form a logical sequence. Three entire pages are moved forward from the end of the passage and placed here in the dining-room setting. These are the paragraphs dealing with Birotteau's loquacity at meals, the unvarying topics that he and Mlle Gamard discuss daily, and his ill-received remarks about the coffee and the weather. Thus Balzac points up dramatically, with setting, dialogue, and characters, the breakfast scene before he introduces

his generalizations on the *genre vieille fille* and his observations on Mlle Gamard in particular.

A second transposition in 2a was made to unite in one place the two parts of Mlle Gamard's portrait. In the manuscript, as we have seen, Balzac's remarks about her tall form and her manner of walking precede his analysis of old maids. In the rearranged text these detached details have been placed so that they conclude Mlle Gamard's portrait, of which the keynote is rigidity. Thus the gaunt figure and the walk, which was stiff as a statue's, form an effective climax in the revision.

One other short transposition was made, this time within the disquisition on old maids. The passage, which deals with the vengeance unhappy creatures take on those around them, came originally after the observation that society's reprobation of old maids is reflected in their dour faces. In the corrected version it is placed between the remark that their lack of happiness makes old maids austere and morose and a generalization on their want of grace. The exact location of the transferred blocks is indicated in Table 2.

Following the discourse on old maids the paragraphs succeed each other in the same order in the revised text of 2a as in the original. The whole passage now ends with the paragraph explaining Mlle Gamard's hatred of Birotteau. Here Balzac picks up Troubert's tardy reply to the vicar: "Oui, il fera beau." Thus the author has brought us back to the breakfast table, and from here he plunges again into his narrative. The order of ideas thus established in correcting 2a must have satisfied Balzac, for he did not again change it after this proof.

These transpositions were not, however, effected without some other readjustments. Moreover, in reorganizing this material Balzac re-wrote much of it, notably the parts having to do with the breakfast scene and with the old maid as a social type. The variations within these transferred passages have been discussed elsewhere. Let us consider here, however, those changes which Balzac made in order to fit the transpositions into their new setting.

The first adjustment entailed by the reblocking process was the substitution of an aside to the reader for the particularized passage on Mlle Gamard's formidable ill-humor and its effect on Birotteau (I, 41; 2a, 99). Balzac was fond of thus addressing his reader, and in this case he has used the aside as a transition to the long digression on old maids: "... mais pour bien peindre un être dont le caractère prête un intérêt immense aux petits événemens de ce drame et à la vie antérieure des personnages qui

en sont les acteurs, peut-être faut-il résumer ici les idées dont une vieille fille est l'expression" (2a/ms, 99).⁴⁹

A second variation due to the transpositions is the omission of a sentence to the effect that Mlle Gamard's face harmonized with her attitude

TABLE 2
TRANSFERRED PASSAGES

Order of Subjects after Revision (Cf. <i>Con.</i> 196-202)	Location in Manuscript	Original Location in 2a	Location in 2a after Revision
Birotteau's astonishment at Mlle Gamard's asperity	41	99	98/ms
The description of the three persons at table	47	107-8	98/ms
The pet dog	46	106	98/ms
Birotteau's loquacity Mlle Gamard's talkativeness	47-48	108-9	Inserted between 98 and 99
Topics discussed by these provincials	48	109-10	Inserted between 98 and 99
Birotteau's uneasiness and humble remarks Mlle Gamard's disdainful silence	48-49	110-11	Inserted between 98 and 99
Mlle Gamard exemplifies the elegiac nature of her kind	41	99	99, following inserted pages
Disquisition on old maids	42-44	100-104	100-104
The vengeance sought by unhappy creatures	42-43	101	102
Physical portrait of Mlle Gamard	44-46	104-5	104-5
Her figure and her walk	41-42	100	105

(1, 42; 2a/ms, 100). This sentence originally followed the description of her walk and became superfluous when that passage was moved elsewhere.

Transplanting the passage about Mlle Gamard's dog also involved additional minor readjustments. In the manuscript the description of the old maid's pet came after the *dossier* on her apartments. Here we learn that her dining-room walls were hung with a paper grotesquely ornamented with Turkish landscapes. A few lines beyond Balzac tells us that

⁴⁹ In Furne, however, the final clause reads: "... dont l'expression se trouve chez la vieille fille" (25+).

the Abbé Birotteau is so abashed by Mlle Gamard's manner that he doesn't dare speak to her or even look at her. Consequently, "[il] avait pour toute perspective la figure muette et aride de l'abbé Troubert, *ou les horribles paysages turcs dont il connaissait tous les détails*" (1, 47). But, as we have seen, the breakfast tableau was shifted in the revision far ahead of the description of Mlle Gamard's rooms. Balzac has therefore substituted in the corrected proof the fat old dog for the "horribles paysages turcs." The passage reads here: "... n'osant regarder ni la figure aride de Troubert ni le visage menaçant de la vieille fille, [Birotteau] *se tourna, par contenance, vers un gros carlin chargé d'embonpoint*" (2a/ms, 98+). The transplanted description of the dog is given at this point, but it is interrupted by an addition, a bit of dialogue. This line of inserted speech serves two purposes: stylistically, it breaks up a long passage; technically, it reveals character directly rather than by description. Birotteau remarks timidly to the unresponsive old animal: "Hé bien mon mignon! tu attends ton café!" (2a/ms, 98+). This humble effort of the *abbé* to ingratiate himself with his hostess by noticing her pet is a pathetic unmasking of his soul.

This concludes the variations due to the transpositions. One other change of a technical nature is found, however, between the manuscript and the proofs of our story. It was in correcting the proofs that Balzac began to emphasize the color of Mlle Gamard's salon. Yellow becomes clearly in 2c the symbolic keynote of the room in which the old maid spends most of her time:

Le salon était parqueté, garni d'un meuble en velours d'Utrecht jaune, les flambeaux et la pendule en cristal.

[2a, 106]

Le salon commun dans lequel elle passait la majeure partie de la journée, sera tôt connu, en faisant observer qu'il se nommait *le salon jaune* et qu'il y avait sur la cheminée des flambeaux et une pendule en cristal ...

[2c, 343+]

Later, in Béchet, we shall find this keynote perhaps overemphasized.

It is not surprising to find so small a group of realistic variations in our few extant pages of proof. Balzac's main intention was always, of course, to transfer to his pages the world he observed around him. Consequently, even in its earliest form *Le Curé de Tours* has its broad realistic traits. Since the purpose of the story is to depict milieu and *conditions*, the sociological features are especially well developed in the manuscript. Notable among these sociological elements are: the provincial setting; the small-

town intrigues with counterplots in Paris, involving church and even state; the selfish priests, who are either dangerous or useless to mankind; and the bitter old maid who takes her revenge for social ostracism.

As regards the corrections, there are only four which derive from Balzac's general realistic qualities. His sociological interests are illustrated in one of these early changes. A second variation was made for the sake of truth. The two others exemplify Balzac's belief in the importance of "things."

The variations introduced for technical reasons are also infrequent. The most important of these is a series of transpositions. Balzac transplanted a number of paragraphs in order to build up dramatically his first scene between Mlle Gamard and her victim, the *débonnaire* Birotteau. Two additional transpositions were made in order to bring together related material. The only other change involving technique has to do with a familiar Balzacian device—the keynoting of descriptions. Our attention is focused on the color of Mlle Gamard's salon. However, the dominant color tone is less strongly emphasized here than it will be in the same passage of the 1834 text.

What is the significance of these small changes? Or, one may ask, what realistic traits of our author are so important that they are found in even a scant number of his pages? The technical variations illustrate two deep-rooted Balzacian tendencies: his inclination to dramatize a scene, and his habit of keynoting a description. As regards his more general realistic qualities, the changes involve truth, sociology, and things—the very bases on which he founded the realistic novel.

B. CHANGES BETWEEN THE PROOFS AND THE FIRST EDITION

Since none of the three proofs for *Le Curé de Tours* is extant in its entirety, the variations for this stage of our story involve sometimes one set of proofs, sometimes another. In every case, of course, the *princeps* has been compared with the latest extant preceding version.

It should be noted, moreover, that 2c, our last proof, is not final for the Mame edition. In the two fragments of this page proof there are some eighty-eight sentences, fifty-three of which are different from the corresponding sentences in the first edition. Many of the marginal corrections of 2c/ms do not appear in the Mame edition. One such case has been cited below (see p. 221). Sometimes the differences between the two texts affect only a word or two, as, for example:

... lorsque Birotteau vint <i>le visiter</i> ...	... lorsque Birotteau vint visiter le
[2c/ms, 285]	<i>chanoine</i> ... [Mame 287]

Again, the two texts may be quite divergent, as in the next instance:

Conservant le teint de brunes, ses cheveux étaient noirs; mais d'affreuses migraines, les avaient blanchis ce qui la contraignait à porter un tour qu'elle ne savait point mettre de manière à en dissimuler la naissance ... [2c/ms, 341]

Brune, ses cheveux, jadis noirs, avaient été blanchis par d'affreuses migraines, accident qui la contraignait à porter un tour; mais ne sachant pas le mettre de manière à en dissimuler la naissance ...

[*Mame* 341+]

These examples, chosen from both fragments of 2c, suffice to show that for these pages, at least, Balzac must have had certainly one more proof before he was ready to publish his story.

I. STYLISTIC VARIATIONS .

Let us now consider the general stylistic variations which occur between the proofs and the *princeps*. As is usual in Balzac's corrections, these variants are more than abundant. We can give examples of the most frequent and most important types of changes only. These will again be considered from the point of view of sentence structure, rhetorical devices, and parts of speech.

a) *According to sentence structure.*—A careful examination seems to indicate that the majority of Balzac's changes in sentence structure are made to vary the turn of his phrases. A change from the participial to the finite form in one sentence, for example, will lead to the opposite change in a closely following sentence. As has been noted above (see p. 196), there is a definite effort to break up sentences. There is also, of course, the drive toward clearness and toward concision.

One of the most frequent changes under sentence structure is the reduction of independent clauses to dependent constructions. This change occurs thirty times and is usually made in the interest of smoothness. The favorite method of correction is to substitute a participial phrase for a finite clause:

Mademoiselle Gamard *prit* avec plaisir le vicaire en pension, *et* il participa dès lors à toutes les félicités de la vie matérielle que lui vantait le défunt chanoine.

[2b, 11]

Mademoiselle Gamard *ayant pris* le vicaire en pension, il participa dès lors à toutes les félicités de la vie matérielle que lui vantait le défunt chanoine.

[*Mame* 294+]

To get a true picture of Balzac's stylistic variations, however, one must remember that he frequently makes a correction in one text only to take it out again in the following edition. In many instances he returns to his original phraseology. These restorations are particularly characteristic of

the variations involving finite and participial constructions. They are, moreover, usually fully justified stylistically. In the following example the original correction was perhaps made in the interest of smoothness; but when Balzac corrected his text, he saw that an even style was not suited to the passage. He has therefore deliberately returned to the staccato tempo of the finite construction in order to sustain the impression of surprise he had created. He has also broken his sentences differently in each text. In summing up the events which followed Birotteau's disgrace Balzac writes:

Trois mois après, M. le vicaire-général fut nommé évêque, et madame de Listomère était morte. *Elle laissait* quinze cents francs de rente par testament à M. l'abbé Biroteaux. [2a, 163]

Cinq mois après, M. le vicaire-général fut nommé évêque, et madame de Listomère était morte, *laissant* quinze cents francs de rente par testament à M. l'abbé Birotteau. [Mame 410]

Cinq mois après, M. le vicaire-général fut nommé évêque. Madame de Listomère était morte, et *laissait* quinze cents francs de rente par testament à M. l'abbé Birotteau. [Béch. 159+]

Between the proofs and the first edition, dependent clauses are reduced to shorter elements thirty-eight times and in a variety of ways. Sometimes a more closely knit sentence is achieved by the substitution of a past participle for the clause:

D'où venait cette susceptibilité <i>qu'elle portait</i> en tout ... ?	[2a, 86]	D'où procédait cette susceptibilité stupidement <i>portée</i> en toute chose ... ?	[Mame 318+]
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Greater concision results in five cases from the substitution of a noun for a dependent clause. For example, Mlle Gamard used to say:

... qu'elle s'était heureusement aperçue à temps de la mauvaise foi <i>de celui qui prétendait l'aimer</i> ...	[2c, 343]	... qu'elle s'était heureusement aperçue à temps de la mauvaise foi <i>de son amant</i> ...	[Mame 342+]
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In the interest of a more compact style Balzac often substitutes an adjective for a dependent clause. In the first instance cited below, he has also avoided cacophony:

... le vent poussait par momens sur lui
des bouffées de pluie *comme si c'eus-*
sent été des douches. [1, 12]

... le vent poussa par momens sur lui
certaines bouffées de pluie *semblables à*
des douches. [Mame 297+]

Thus, in the very next sentence "le tems qu'il fallait" (1, 12) becomes "le tems nécessaire" (Mame 297+). For the sake of concision, a dependent clause may be reduced by the substitution of a phrase:

Quand elle était de bonne humeur ...
[2c, 105]

Dans ses momens de bonne humeur ...
[Mame 342+]

Dependent clauses are changed to independent constructions in eleven cases. The following example is characteristic of Balzac's effort to simplify his style:

Ce fut ainsi que l'avoué des libéraux
entama l'affaire ... [2a, 146]

L'avoué des libéraux entama donc
l'affaire ... [Mame 392+]

There are, in all, ninety-three changes in sentence structure between the proofs and the first edition of this short novel. The reader of Balzac often has the impression that his sentences bristle with clauses. These variations suggest that Balzac himself had the same impression, for they all tend in one direction—toward a less involved style. He shortens his sentences and reduces his clauses constantly in his effort to achieve simplicity.

b) *According to rhetorical devices.*—Elaboration of expression may be made for emphasis, as when Balzac expands the idea contained in the adjective "bon" in the example below:

Où, mais vous logerez bientôt à l'ar-
chevêché! dit le *bon* Birotteau ...
[2a, 95]

Où, mais vous logerez bientôt à l'ar-
chevêché! ... dit le vicaire, *voulant que*
tout le monde fût heureux ...

[Mame 329+]

An amplification may be used merely to define. One wonders if the expanded form is superior to the original in the following example:

Ainsi, le premier jour où il vint dîner et
coucher chez la vieille fille, il fut retenu
dans son salon *par une fausse politesse,*
et aussi par son désir de faire connais-
sance avec elle. [2a, 82]

Ainsi, le premier jour où il vint dîner
et coucher chez la vieille fille, il fut
retenu dans son salon par le désir de
faire connaissance avec elle, *aussi bien*
que par cet inexplicable embarras qui
gêne souvent les gens timides, ou leur
fait craindre d'être impolis en interrom-
pant une conversation pour sortir ...

[Mame 312+]

Additions serve also to clarify. In the example below, the insertion is made for the sake of clearness. M. de Bourbonne is explaining to Birotteau why he should not sue Mlle Gamard:

Mais, tous vos amis, quoique pleins de bonnes intentions vous mettent dans un mauvais chemin.	[2a, 136]	Mais, tous vos amis, quoique pleins de bonnes intentions, vous mettent dans un mauvais chemin, <i>d'où vous ne pour- rez vous tirer ...</i>	[Mame 380+]
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In the following example the added clause makes for exactness:

... toute espèce de choix implique d'ailleurs un mépris.	[2a/ms, 87]	... toute espèce de choix implique un mépris <i>pour ce que l'on refuse.</i>	[Mame 319; Béch. 69; Char. 29]
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Again, an addition may be used for the sake of balance. It may, at the same time, give us needed information, as when we learn that the Baron de Listomère's ambition is achieved:

Le legs de madame de Listomère à Birotteau fut attaqué par M. le baron de Listomère sous prétexte de capta- tion.	[2a, 164]	Le legs de madame de Listomère à Birotteau fut attaqué par M. le baron de Listomère sous prétexte de capta- tion; <i>mais le baron fut nommé capi- taine!</i>	[Mame 411+]
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There are one hundred and sixty-one variations in this category. There are more than three times as many additions as there are amplifications. The latter occur only thirty-eight times, whereas the former reach a total of one hundred and twenty-three.

Compressions naturally tend toward a more concise style. They frequently result in greater smoothness. In the following example the emended form is not only smoother but clearer than the original one:

... car les vieilles filles ont toutes un certain talent pour accentuer <i>leurs pe- tites traîtrises qui imprime un carac- tère particulier aux actions et aux mots que la haine leur suggère.</i>	[1, 18]	... car les vieilles filles ont toutes un certain talent pour accentuer <i>les ac- tions et les mots que la haine leur sug- gère.</i>	[Mame 302+]
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Concision and clearness are also achieved by the omission of clauses, phrases, and even sentences. Sentences are usually omitted because they repeat an idea that has been used elsewhere. Phrases and clauses are taken out in order to simplify the style. One example employing both condensation and omission will serve to illustrate Balzac's efforts to write more clearly and more simply:

Birotteau, pour son malheur, avait développé chez elle les seuls sentimens qu'il fût possible à cette femme d'éprouver, ceux de la haine, qui jusqu'alors *étaient restés* latens, par suite du calme où elle avait vécu, et du peu d'événemens accomplis dans le cercle resserré tracé par la vie de province, dont l'horizon s'était encore rétréci pour elle ...

[2c, 344]

Birotteau, pour son malheur, avait développé chez elle les seuls sentimens qu'il fût possible à cette femme d'éprouver, ceux de la haine, qui, latens jusqu'alors, par suite du calme et de la monotonie d'une vie provinciale dont l'horizon s'était encore rétréci pour elle ...

[Mame 344+]

Balzac's royalist sympathies may explain one omission. Through 2a the Abbé Birotteau and his hostess recount tales of "conspirations tous les quinze jours" (2a, 109). This phrase does not occur in the *princeps* (Mame 334).

In summing up the changes in this class we find that there are forty-three compressions and seventy-four omissions. The total figure of one hundred and seventeen is not small and convinces us that, despite his natural exuberance of expression, Balzac could, and did, delete with a will.

Transpositions are less frequent between the proofs and the first edition than are the other changes involving rhetorical devices which we have studied. Even so, their number is not insignificant, as Balzac made at least ninety-one such transfers within sentences. Sometimes these changes are made for logical reasons, as in the example cited below. The young nephew of Mme de Listomère has heard that he is about to be retired from the Royal Navy and has gone up to Paris in great haste to seek the help of his uncle, the deputy:

Aussi le jeune homme attendit, avec la plus vive anxiété, la fin de la séance dans la voiture de son oncle. [2a, 148]

Aussi attendit-il avec la plus vive anxiété, dans la voiture de son oncle, la fin de la séance. [Mame 393-94+]

In the following instance the sentence is made smoother by bringing together the widely separated subject and verb:

... l'abbé tout en cherchant lui-même ses pantoufles qu'il ne trouvait pas au milieu du tapis de son lit comme elles étaient jadis fit sur la manière dont Marianne était habillée certaines observations ...

[1, 14-16]

Tout en cherchant lui-même ses pantoufles qu'il ne trouvait pas au milieu de son tapis de lit, comme elles y étaient jadis, l'abbé fit sur la manière dont Marianne était habillée certaines observations ...

[Mame 300+]

Again, it may be the verb and its object which are joined (2a, 153-54; Mame 400+).

One example will serve to illustrate the transpositions of single words and of short phrases. In the example quoted, the change seems to have been made principally for the sake of rhythm. Mlle Gamard, seen from a distance, had seemed to the Abbé Birotteau

le type de la femme de l'évangile, la femme sage, décorée de toutes les vertus humbles et modeste qui répandent un parfum céleste sur la vie.	le type de la femme de l'évangile, la femme sage, décorée de ces vertus humbles et modestes qui répandent sur la vie un parfum céleste.
[2a, 81]	[Mame 311]

In the Béchét edition "céleste" is placed before its noun, the transposition serving to stress the adjective (*Béch.* 61+).

There are no important changes in dialogue at this stage of *Le Curé de Tours*, but in several cases narration is broken up by the introduction of direct speech. Thus, in the example below the heavy effect of a series of clauses is lightened. Balzac tells us that each day the Abbé Chapeloud recounts to Birotteau how excellent Mlle Gamard's dinner has been:

... et il était bien rare que, pendant les sept promenades de la semaine, il ne lui arrivât pas de dire <i>que cette excellente fille avait eu pour vocation le service ecclésiastique.</i>	... et il était bien rare que, pendant les sept promenades de la semaine, il ne lui arrivât pas de dire ou moins quatorze fois: — <i>Cette excellente fille a, certes, pour vocation le service ecclésiastique.</i>
[2b, 12]	[Mame 295+]

Direct speech for narration adds life and swiftness to the style in the scene in which Mme de Listomère and her friends advise Birotteau that the way to secure his canonship is to leave Mlle Gamard's house. One dissenting opinion is expressed, that of "le vieux malin" (2a/ms, 122; *Mame* 362+). Speech-words indicating the speaker are frequently added, with or without modifiers (2a, 148; *Mame* 394+). A parenthetical phrase to indicate the person addressed is often introduced for clearness. It may, at the same time, add naturalness to the scene:

—Si ce n'est que cela! ... donnez! ... dit Madame de Listomère.	—N'est-ce que cela? ... Signez! ... dit madame de Listomère <i>en regardant Birotteau</i> ...
[1, 56]	[Mame 363+]

Variations involving figures of speech occur eight times between the proofs and the first edition. Of these, three are metaphors and five are similes. The most interesting of these figures are the similes. Two of these concern the Abbé Chapeloud's apartment, which is in each case compared to a woman. The canon's rooms were at first only poorly furnished. In

correcting 2c, Balzac adds: "... l'appartement était donc comme une belle femme en haillons" (2c/ms, 286; *Mame* 288+). But with the years the apartment became more and more elegant. Balzac adds at one point the following simile: "Semblable à une jolie femme qui, passe par degrés de la misère à la pauvreté, l'appartement s'était vêtu de soie, et couvert de bijoux étincelans" (2c/ms, 288). This comparison, which occurs fairly near the one just cited, is not found in the *princeps* (*Mame* 291), for the probable reason that it seems to repeat too closely the idea of the first simile.

No doubt Balzac felt it was inappropriate to liken the Abbé Birotteau to a tun of wine rolling down the nave of Saint-Gatien. He therefore substituted for that picturesque figure a description of the vicar's manner of walking:

... le bon Birotteau trottnait en pa-	... le bon vicaire y <i>circulait sans gra-</i>
raissant rouler <i>comme une tonne de vin.</i>	<i>vitè, trottait, piétinait, en paraissant</i>
[2a, 93]	<i>rouler sur lui-même. [Mame 326+]</i>

The metaphors are not unusual in their nature. To leave Tours would be a kind of death for Birotteau (2a, 137; *Mame* 381+). The jealous struggle of Mlle Gamard against the aristocrats of Tours is characterized in the first edition as "le combat du peuple et du sénat dans une taupinière" (*Mame* 385).⁵⁰ But through 2a (140) the phrase read "dans un trou."

We find, in looking back on the variations involving rhetorical devices, that they constitute about four hundred of the stylistic changes introduced between the proofs and the first edition. Amplifications and additions outnumber compressions and omissions, which, in turn, are more frequent than transpositions. Changes which concern dialogue, speech-words, and figures of speech comprise less than one-tenth of the total number of variations due to rhetorical devices.

The general trend of the elaborations and additions is toward exactness and clarity, as we have seen. Insertions were also made for emphasis and for symmetry. A surprisingly large number of omissions and contractions indicates that Balzac sought, in correcting his proofs, to achieve concision and compactness—qualities which were suited to the brevity of his novel. Omissions were also made for accuracy, for smoothness, and for reasons of logic. Transpositions serve both to bring together related ideas and to give a more even and rhythmical movement to the original sentences.

⁵⁰ *Béch.* 129+ reads "du sénat romain" for "du sénat."

Of the less frequent changes studied, speech-words are the most numerous. They are added more than twenty times and contribute not only clearness but a certain dramatic quality and vigor to the style. Vividness was attained by the judicious adding of two bits of dialogue which break up long stretches of narration. On the other hand, the figures of speech are familiar and less evocative than those which Balzac creates when he bases his analogies on the vocations of his characters.

c) *According to parts of speech.*—Changes of a purely verbal character are numerous. Substitutions are more prominent than additions and omissions. The purpose behind all these changes is, in general, the search for the *mot propre*.

Variations involving verbs occur two hundred and sixty-eight times and are more frequent than those affecting any other part of speech. Omissions are extremely rare, occurring only six times. Verbs are added twenty-four times. In the following example the insertion in the revised text was made both for balance and for emphasis; but the word chosen did not please Balzac, for he changed it in the Furne edition. The original sentence became two in Béchet (120). The Curé de Tours has just learned of the defeat of all his hopes:

L'abbé Poirel était chanoine, et lui,
Birotteau, sans asile, sans fortune et
sans mobilier. [2a, 132]

L'abbé Poirel était chanoine, et lui,
Birotteau, *restait* sans asile, sans fortune
et sans mobilier! [Mame 375]

L'abbé Poirel était chanoine! Lui, Bi-
rotteau, *se voyait* sans asile, sans fortune
et sans mobilier! [Fur. 41+]

We can illustrate only a few of the one hundred and seventy-two cases of substitution. Balzac frequently replaces the verb *avoir* by a more pointed word. In the following instance the substitution suggests the profession of the speaker, the young naval officer:

... si [l'abbé Birotteau] a du cœur et veut suivre mes avis, il <i>aura</i> sa tran- quillité. [2a, 120]	Si le vicaire a du cœur et veut suivre mes avis, il <i>aura</i> bientôt <i>conquis</i> sa tranquillité. [Mame 358+]
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The substitution of a picturesque verb for a less evocative one is a happy change in the next example, in which Balzac describes the rigid Mlle Gamard's manner of walking:

... elle était, pour ainsi dire, d'une seule pièce, et *marçait* comme la statue du commandeur. [2c, 342]

... elle était, pour ainsi dire, d'une seule pièce, et *semblait surgir*, à chaque *pas*, comme la statue du Commandeur. [Mame 342+]

Again, Mlle Salomon's devotion to her insane lover is more vividly suggested by the following substitution:

... elle s'était, avec le courage de l'amour, consacrée au bonheur mécanique de ce malheureux, dont elle avait aussi *étudié* la folie pour ne plus y croire. [2a/ms, 127]

... elle s'était, avec le courage de l'amour, consacrée au bonheur mécanique de ce malheureux, dont elle avait assez *épousé* la folie pour ne plus y croire. [Mame 369+]

As regards verbs, Balzac has a tendency to add modal auxiliaries. These changes may make for accuracy of meaning, as in the following example, which shows him struggling toward this goal through three texts. The Abbé Birotteau has returned to his apartment to find Troubert ensconced in it. After a long gaze into Troubert's motionless eyes, the *abbé* says: "... si mademoiselle Gamard *est* impatiente de vous mieux loger, elle *est* cependant assez juste pour me laisser le tems d'enlever mes livres et mes meubles" (2a, 129). The italicized verbs are first changed to read respectively: "a pu se montrer" and "doit être" (2a/ms, 129). However, in the first edition they have become "a pu être" and "doit se montrer" (Mame 372+). The substitutions may, on the other hand, merely serve to emphasize, as when, in the famous breakfast conversations between Birotteau and Mlle Gamard, Balzac makes the following elaboration:

... elle disait qu'un homme nourri d'un œuf chaque matins, mourrait à la fin de l'année ... [2a, 110]

... elle disait qu'un homme nourri d'un œuf chaque matin, *devait infailliblement mourir* à la fin de l'année ...

[Mame 334+]

As for nouns, the changes are again abundant, totaling one hundred and eighty-two. Additions and omissions occur in almost equal ratio, but their numbers are not large. Simplicity and directness are achieved by striking out mere verbiage in several instances. For example, the Abbé Birotteau analyzed Mlle Gamard's hostility to him:

Avec cette *espèce de sagacité* questionneuse que contractent les prêtres habitués à diriger la conscience des vieilles filles ... [1, 18]

... avec cette sagacité questionneuse que contractent les prêtres habitués à diriger la conscience des vieilles femmes ... [Mame 302+]

Again, Mlle Gamard resents Mme de Listomère's defense of the vicar:

Avec toute la science de vanité qui distingue les vieilles filles ...	[2a, 137]	Avec la vanité subtile qui distingue les vieilles filles ...	[Mame 382+]
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Probably the desire for emphasis led Balzac to add the noun and adjective in the following case, though these are not the only important changes which he made in the passage:

L'air ambitieux de Troubert avait contribué à le faire redouter et à le laisser simple chanoine ...	[2a, 93]	... l'air ambitieux de Troubert, en donnant lieu de le redouter, avait contribué peut-être à le faire condamner au rôle insignifiant de simple chanoine ...	[Mame 326+]
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Substitutions occur many times. These are especially interesting when the *mot propre* replaces a vaguer word. In the example below, Balzac's tendency to use exact, technical terms is illustrated. The Abbé Birotteau, who has had more than one attack of gout, is unhappily forced to stand in the rain while a servant unlocks his door:

Mais les peines du gouteux ne finissent pas aussitôt qu'il le croyait ...	[1, 12]	... mais les peines du podagre ne finirent pas aussitôt qu'il le croyait ...	[Mame 298+]
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The celebrated phrase "concupiscence mobilière," used to describe Birotteau's longing for his friend's apartment, occurs for the first time at this stage of the story:

... le début de sa convoitise mobilière fut semblable à celui d'une passion vraie ...	[2c/ms, 285]	... le début de sa concupiscence mobilière fut semblable à celui d'une passion vraie ...	[Mame 287+]
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"Concupiscence," a word which a priest might well have used in the above connection, is an interesting example of Balzac's ability to find expressions suggestive of the calling of his characters. Similarly, in the illustration below, the substituted phrase is suited to the occasion and suggests what the Abbé Birotteau himself might have said. At Mlle Gamard's funeral:

... une seule personne ... pleura; ce fut Birotteau, qui ... pria sincèrement pour la vieille fille ...	[2a, 160]	Une seule personne ... pleura; ce fut Birotteau, qui ... pria sincèrement pour l'âme de la défunte ...	[Mame 406-7+]
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Variations involving pronouns are found one hundred and seventeen times. Common and proper nouns replace pronouns frequently. These

changes make for definiteness, but they are often routine corrections introduced to avoid repetitions. In the following case, for example, the substitution avoids a succession of clauses beginning with *il*. Birotteau has just realized Mlle Gamard's ill-will toward him:

... *il* semblait accablé ... [1, 16] *Le bon homme* semblait accablé ...
[*Mame* 301+]

On the other hand, in the following case the change is due to Balzac's effort to be exact and specific. When M. de Bourbonne asks to see the contract between Mlle Gamard and Birotteau, the vicar replies, "*Il est ...*" (2a, 123), then "*Cela est ...*" (2a/ms, 123), and finally, "*L'acte est chez moi*" (*Mame* 365+). Pronouns are added some thirty times. Sometimes the pronoun is introduced because of a change in sentence structure. Frequently it is inserted for the sake of exactness (1, 24; *Mame* 307; *Béch.* 57+). Omissions, strange to say, are found almost as often as additions. Of the twenty-seven pronouns which Balzac struck out, many were deleted in order to avoid redundancy. Some pronouns were omitted because they were inexact (2c, 338; *Mame* 338+); others for the sake of smoothness (2a, 147-48; *Mame* 393; *Char.* 82).

Many changes involve adjectives. Eliminations occur only fifteen times and are made, in general, to avoid repetitions. For example, since everything Balzac has told us about Mlle Gamard has emphasized her aridity and thinness, he omits, in the following instance, a further reference to these characteristics:

Mademoiselle Sophie Gamard était D'une taille assez élevée, elle se tenait
d'une taille assez élevée, *maigre et* très droite ... [*Mame* 342+]
sèche. Elle se tenait droite ... [2c, 342]

Additions involving adjectives number about thirty-five. The insertion may be made in the interest of accuracy:

Le titre de chanoine était pour [Birot- Le titre de chanoine était devenu pour
teau], comme la pairie pour un mi- lui ce que doit être la pairie pour un
nistre ... [1, 12] ministre *plébéen*. [*Mame* 296+]

In many cases the qualifying word is introduced for the sake of emphasis. When Mlle Salomon learns that the Abbé Birotteau has been transferred to Saint-Symphorien, she expresses her indignation thus:

Quelle combinaison! [2a, 162] Quelle *atroce* combinaison!
[*Mame* 410+]

There are more than three times as many adjectival substitutions as there are additions. Usually Balzac is seeking the exact word in making

these changes. Occasionally the variation is made to avoid monotony in form and similarity in sound (2a, 134; *Mame* 378+). A number of cases illustrate Balzac's search for the *mot propre*; for example:

... Mademoiselle Gamard fit de l'abbé	Mademoiselle Gamard fit de l'abbé
Birotteau un portrait <i>un peu sombre</i> ...	Birotteau un portrait <i>si peu flatteur</i>
[2a, 88]	que ... [Mame 320+]

Troubert's face is described as "cambrée" (*Mame* 326+) rather than "creuse" (2a, 93). When Mlle Gamard refuses to talk to Birotteau at breakfast, the vicar finds this silence "effrayant" (2a, 100). In the *Mame* edition the silence has become "dangereux pour son estomac" (335+).

Two examples show Balzac striving for stylistic effects. In both cases the changes were made for the sake of antithesis. In the first illustration the clause has been re-written to stress the contrast. In Troubert's oration at Mlle Gamard's funeral:

... le tableau de la vie de la vieille fille	... le tableau de la vie <i>étroite</i> menée par
fut tracé avec le style de Bossuet ...	la testatrice prit des proportions <i>mo-</i>
[2a, 160]	<i>numentales</i> . [Mame 407+] ⁵¹

As Troubert's sermon is later called a "pompeux discours" by M. de Bourbonne, the antithesis in the revision is acceptable. The contrast in the emended clause is in keeping with Troubert's peroration; at the same time it suggests Bossuet's style, which was evidently still the model for provincial funeral orations, and yet it does not discredit the great orator as the direct allusion of the original sentence had done. In the second example, however, the contrasts are too exaggerated, too many adjectives are piled up, and the striving for effect is too obvious. Balzac is speaking of the gossips of Tours:

... cette congrégation de langues pos-	Cette congrégation <i>oisive et agissante,</i>
sédait une influence qui devenait ter-	<i>invisible et voyant tout, muette et par-</i>
rible quand un intérêt majeur la diri-	<i>lant sans cesse,</i> possédait alors une in-
geait. [2a, 140]	fluence que sa nullité rendait en ap-
	parence peu nuisible, mais qui ce-
	pendant devenait terrible quand elle
	était animée par un intérêt majeur.
	[Mame 384-85+]

Adjectives are replaced by other qualifying phrases fifty-five times. The total number of variations in which adjectives are concerned reaches the figure of one hundred and eight.

Adverbs are even more frequently involved than adjectives in the vari-

⁵¹ 2a/ms reads "proportions immenses."

ations now under consideration. As opposed to the other parts of speech, however, adverbs are added much more often than they are omitted or substituted. Additions occur one hundred and ten times; omissions, eighteen; and substitutions, twenty-six.

As usual, we find Balzac striving for exactness. This tendency leads him to strike out several adverbial expressions. The following example is a case in point. Mlle Salomon is speaking of the Abbé Birotteau, who has been exiled, really, to the parish on the other side of the Loire from Tours:

Lui qui, depuis ses malheurs, peut à peine marcher, serait obligé de faire une lieue <i>tous les jours</i> pour nous voir.	Lui qui, depuis ses malheurs, peut à peine marcher, serait obligé de faire une lieue pour nous voir.
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[2a, 162]

[Mame 410+]

Omissions are sometimes made to avoid repetitions, as when "sans doute," occurring twice in the same sentence, is deleted the second time in the revision (2a, 162; Mame 408-9+). Repetitions are also avoided by means of substitutions. Thus, in order not to repeat *ici* too often, Balzac uses the phrase "dans ce logement" (2a, 129; Mame 373+). Vivid phrases replace monotonous terms (2a, 129; Mame 372+). Other substitutions may be accounted for on the grounds of accuracy (2a, 139; Mame 384+).

Conjunctions figure prominently in the variations we are now considering. Seventy-three omissions are made, fifty-seven substitutions, and fifty-one additions. The connective most frequently involved is *et*, which is omitted forty-four times and added seventeen. The conjunction *car*, which Balzac struck out many times between the first and second editions of his story, is omitted only five times between the proofs and the Mame edition. It is added five times also at this same stage of the corrections. Both *et* and *car* are usually dropped because Balzac has broken a sentence into shorter components. For example, in the first edition the following sentence becomes two by the omission of *et*: "Le vieux propriétaire voulut voir cette espèce d'acte de renonciation, *et* monsieur Caron le lui apporta" (2a, 123; Mame 365; Char. 62). In the illustration below, the omission of the conjunction *que* gives greater smoothness to the style of the corrected text. Old maids, according to Balzac, are bitter:

... parce qu'un être qui a manqué sa vocation est malheureux; <i>qu'il</i> souffre, et <i>que</i> la souffrance engendre la méchanceté ...	... parce qu'un être qui a manqué sa vocation est malheureux; il souffre, et la souffrance engendre la méchanceté.
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[2c, 339]

[Mame 338-39+]

The addition of *et* sometimes results in a more rhythmical sentence (2a, 126; Mame 368; Béch. 113). *Car* is inserted more than once to permit

Balzac to fuse transitional remarks into his sentences (2*b*, 11-12; *Mame* 294; *Béch.* 45). As regards the substitutions, there is a tendency to interchange *et* and *or*. The following case is characteristic. The Abbé Chapeloud used to pay a short visit to Mlle Gamard every evening before dinner:

... <i>et</i>, pendant cette espèce de visite polie il lui avait fait durant les douze ans qu'il passa sous son toit les mêmes questions ...	<i>Or</i>, durant cette espèce de visite polie, il lui avait fait, pendant les douze années qu'il passa sous son toit, les mêmes questions ...
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[1, 24]

[*Mame* 307; *Char.* 20]

Variations according to other parts of speech are less numerous by far than those which we have been analyzing. They are also less interesting and do not noticeably affect Balzac's style. Of these changes, thirty-nine affect articles; thirty-three, prepositions; and twelve, negatives.

The total number of verbal changes is about eleven hundred and bears witness once again to Balzac's infinite care for detail. Verbs are affected more frequently than any other part of speech. Nouns and conjunctions are varied more often than are the remaining elements. The high ratio of conjunctions is explained by the fact that Balzac made many changes in sentence structure; thus connectives were dropped or added. Adverbs are involved in this group of variations almost as frequently as nouns and conjunctions, while pronouns and adjectives are changed slightly less often. These numerous minute changes are made principally for definiteness and emphasis and contribute as much as any other changes Balzac made to the vividness and exactness of his style in *Le Curé de Tours*.

2. REALISTIC VARIATIONS (BETWEEN THE PROOFS AND THE FIRST EDITION)

a) *General realistic qualities*.—One way in which Balzac seeks to create the impression of truth is by accuracy of statement. We therefore find him changing a phrase about the Abbé Troubert's "absence totale d'esprit" (2*a*, 94) to "l'apparence d'un manque total d'esprit" (*Mame* 326; *Char.* 34). "La commisération" (2*a*, 154) expressed for Mlle Gamard when she falls ill becomes "une feinte commisération" (*Mame* 400). For reasons of truth Balzac sometimes omits an exaggerated statement. For example, the generalization that old maids are "malheureuses dans toutes les affections de leur sexe" (2*c*, 339-40) does not appear in the *princeps* (339). The phrase "son seul bien" used to describe the Abbé Birotteau's health in 2*c* (350) is omitted in the first edition (349), obviously because it is not true.

Balzac may harmonize discrepancies in the interest of truth. Mme de Listomère and her friends are the aristocrats of Tours and do not mingle with Mlle Gamard, the daughter of an "espèce de paysan parvenu," and her bourgeois set. Consequently, in revising the following example, Balzac struck out the phrase "et la petite bourgeoisie." He is speaking of the salons of Mme de Listomère, Mlle Merlin de la Blottière, and "autres dévotes en possession de recevoir la société pieuse *et la petite bourgeoisie* de Tours" (2a, 84; *Mame* 315). In another example the word "honteuse" is certainly more *vraisemblable* in the mouth of Mme de Listomère than is "sale":

Nous consulterons, nous plaiderons s'il faut plaider, et comme cette affaire est assez *sale* pour mademoiselle Gamard, et peut nuire à l'abbé Troubert, il y aura une transaction. [2a, 135]

Nous consulterons des avocats, reprit madame de Listomère, nous plaiderons s'il faut plaider; mais comme cette affaire est assez *honteuse* pour mademoiselle Gamard, et peut nuire à l'abbé Troubert, nous obtiendrons sans doute quelque transaction.

[*Mame* 379+]

Balzac makes an effort to weed out discrepancies of time, but he does not always succeed. For example, in the manuscript (p. 4) the Abbé Birotteau has longed for twenty years to become a canon. The twenty years became twelve in a correction on 2b (p. 2), but a few sentences later we find, even in the *princeps*, that the apartment which Birotteau occupied had been "comme l'était alors le canoniat, l'objet de son envie et son *hoc erat in votis*⁵² pendant une *dizaine* d'années" (*Mame* 285-86). It is not until the Béchét edition that Balzac makes this statement accurate by substituting "douzaine" for "dizaine" (*Béch.* 37-38+).

Another tangle involving time is never straightened out. We are never quite sure just when Mlle Gamard first manifested her ill-will toward the Abbé Birotteau or at what time he began to be unhappy under her tyranny. When the story opens, the *abbé* is returning to Mlle Gamard's house, in which, we are told, he has been living for two years. Arriving at his door, he finds himself locked out; but this circumstance is less upsetting than the discovery that there is no fire in his room and that his candlestick and slippers are not in their accustomed places. He realizes, apparently for the first time, that something is wrong. At this point Balzac writes: "Alors il se souvint que depuis environ quinze jours, il était sevré de tous ces petits soins qui lui avaient rendu la vie si douce pendant dix-

⁵² Italics by Balzac.

huit mois ..." (1, 16; *Mame* 300+).⁵³ The simple priest, Balzac continues, "venait de reconnaître, un peu tard à la vérité, les signes d'une persécution sourde exercée sur lui depuis environ trois mois par mademoiselle Gamard ..." (1, 18; *Mame* 302+). A little later, however, we learn that "dix-huit mois après l'avoir pris en pension" she hates him and that he has become for her "l'objet d'une persécution sourde et d'une vengeance froidement calculée" (2a, 89;⁵⁴ *Mame* 321+). Yet, Balzac, with his love for exact figures, has carefully inserted a little earlier in the first edition a still further conflicting period of time:

Il se coucha dans l'espoir d'éclaircir le lendemain matin la cause de la haine qui devait détruire à jamais le bonheur dont il jouissait après l'avoir si longtemps désiré.

[1, 20]

Il se coucha dans l'espoir d'éclaircir le lendemain matin la cause de la haine qui devait détruire à jamais ce bonheur dont il avait joui *pendant une douzaine de mois* après l'avoir si longtemps désiré.

[*Mame* 304]

This last inconsistency Balzac corrects in the Furne edition, where he changes "une douzaine de mois" to "deux ans" (*Fur.* 11+), a period which conforms with the reader's first impression that Birotteau's unhappiness dates from the very night the novel opens.

However, the author allows still another discrepancy to stand. Toward the end of the story, when the poor vicar is trying to comprehend his fate, we are told that "il se demandait mille fois pourquoi la première année passée chez mademoiselle Gamard ayant été si douce, la seconde était si cruelle" (1, 57;⁵⁵ *Mame* 367-68+). These exact references to time are less definite than they seem. Balzac makes no attempt to adjust the conflicting remarks that Mlle Gamard began her persecutions of Birotteau three months, and six months, before the story opens; and he makes only one effort to harmonize the statements that the *abbé* was gay and contented at the beginning of the novel, that his first year only had been happy at Mlle Gamard's, and that his life there had been "douce" for eighteen months. Of course, what Balzac is primarily interested in is not the time, but the effect, of the old maid's persecution of the vicar. He has used exact figures because it is his habit to be specific, not because he was trying to place his psychological problem in an absolutely accurate time-setting.

On the other hand, it was no doubt for the sake of greater probability

⁵³ There are slight stylistic variations between these two texts.

⁵⁴ The prepositional phrases are transposed in 2a.

⁵⁵ Variants in the manuscript: "il se demandait *toujours*." The sentence structure is also different.

that Balzac lengthened the time of the denouement. Birotteau is sent to Saint-Symphorien, and "*Cinq mois après, M. le vicaire-général fut nommé évêque, et madame de Listomère était morte ...*" (*Mame* 410+). The original period was "*trois mois*" (2a, 163). At the end of the story, we find in 2a: "*Ce n'était plus que le squelette du Birotteau qui roulait, six mois auparavant, si vide, mais si content, à travers le cloître*" (2a, 164). In the *princeps* Balzac stretches the time to "*dix mois*" (*Mame* 412; *Char.* 103).

Changes involving sums of money and figures in general are characteristic of Balzac. Between the proofs and the first edition of *Le Curé de Tours*, contrary to his more usual custom of increasing sums of money, he has reduced or omitted several amounts. The first of these changes has to do with Mme de Listomère's wealth: "*Tout le monde sut bientôt, dans la ville de Tours, que madame la baronne de Listomère, veuve d'un lieutenant général, et riche de vingt-quatre mille livres de rente, recueillait M. l'abbé Birotteau, vicaire de Saint-Gatien*" (2a, 137). The parenthetical phrase about the income of the baroness is, quite uncharacteristically, simply dropped in the first edition (*Mame* 382+).

Balzac's more general tendency to increase monetary values is illustrated in a difference he makes in the Abbé Birotteau's fortune. In the same passage, contrary to his familiar full inventorial method, he condenses the enumeration of the vicar's possessions. In order to help the vicar in his suit against Mlle Gamard, the nephew of Mme de Listomère has had the *abbé's* belongings evaluated by a connoisseur:

L'ancien expert du Musée avait estimé la Vierge de Valentin *sept mille francs*, c'était en effet un morceau capital, et le Christ de Lebrun *quatre mille francs*; quant à la bibliothèque et les meubles gothiques, le goût dominant qui s'accroissait de jour en jour à Paris pour ces sortes de choses, leur donnaient une valeur fictive de douze mille francs; mais *l'expert déclara que leur valeur réelle était de six mille francs; et il y avait, en outre selon l'opinion d'un commissaire priseur, pour huit mille francs de livres en égard aux reliures, et pour deux mille francs de meubles.* [2a, 146]

L'ancien expert du Musée avait estimé *onze mille francs* la Vierge du Valentin et le Christ de Lebrun, morceaux d'un beauté capitale; quant à la bibliothèque et aux meubles gothiques, le goût dominant qui s'accroissait de jour en jour à Paris pour ces sortes de choses, leur donnaient une valeur fictive de douze mille francs; mais *enfin l'expert, vérification faite, évalua le mobilier entier à trente mille francs.*

[*Mame* 391-92]⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Béch. 134-35+ reads "dix mille écus" instead of "trente mille francs."

Changing the value of the *abbé's* property necessitated another variation a little later. The total having been raised, as we have seen, from 27,000 to 30,000 francs, Balzac omits in the following example the original amount, which has now become inexact:

Or, il était évident que M. Birotteau, n'ayant pas entendu donner à mademoiselle Gamard, *la somme énorme de vingt-sept mille francs*, il y avait judiciairement parlant, lieu à réformer leurs conventions ...

[2a, 146]

Or, il était évident que M. Birotteau, n'ayant pas entendu donner à mademoiselle Gamard *cette somme énorme*, il y avait, judiciairement parlant, lieu à réformer leurs conventions ...

[Mame 392+]

The number of valuable pictures which the vicar inherited is reduced from three to two (2a, 145; *Mame* 390). Balzac's preoccupation with mere numbers is shown in an addition which is too mathematical, although it introduces a good balance: "... il était bien rare que, pendant les sept promenades de la semaine, il ne lui arrivât pas de dire *au moins quatorze fois*: ... (2b, 12; *Mame* 295).

By far the most important variations introduced for the first edition are three *dossiers*. For the first of these we have no proofs; for the other two we have the autograph corrections on 2a.

The first *dossier* is the shortest, but it has the added interest of conveying a clear statement of Balzac's belief in *cognomologie*. It contains also a characteristic reference to the novelist as a historian:

Ici, l'historien serait en droit de crayonner le portrait de cette dame; mais il a pensé que ceux même auxquels la cognomologie de Sterne est inconnue ne pourraient pas prononcer ces trois mots: MADAME DE LISTOMÈRE! ... sans se la peindre noble, digne, tempérant les rigueurs de la piété par la vieille élégance des dorures monarchiques et classiques, par des manières polies; se permettant la Nouvelle Héloïse, la comédie, et se coiffant encore avec ses cheveux.

[1, 53; *Mame* 357;⁵⁷ *Béch.* 104+]

In the second *dossier* inserted in 2a, Balzac sets before us a well-developed provincial type, M. de Bourbonne, whom he has merely sketched in the manuscript as "un vieux propriétaire qui connaissait le pays" (1, 54). This *dossier* is an excellent example of Balzac's eager effort to give us the biographical and social background of his characters. It is also interesting for its specific references to Tours and the Tourangeaux:

⁵⁷ Here and hereafter, italics *throughout* a quotation mean that the whole passage is lacking from the first text noted and is an addition *en bloc* in the second text; the first reference (of two or more references in one parenthesis) applies merely to *locus*, or context, and is given to permit verification.

In the present case Balzac italicized *cognomologie* and *Nouvelle Héloïse*.

Ce vieux propriétaire, nommé M. de Bourbonne, résumait toutes les idées de la province aussi complètement que Voltaire a résumé l'esprit de son époque. C'était un homme sec et maigre, professant en matière d'habillement toute l'indifférence d'un propriétaire [1] dont la valeur territoriale est cotée dans son [2] département. Sa physionomie, tannée par le soleil de la Touraine, était moins spirituelle que fine. Habitué à peser ses paroles, à combiner ses actions, il cachait sa profonde circonspection sous une simplicité trompeuse. Aussi fallait-il une légère observation [3] pour s'apercevoir que, semblable à un paysan de Normandie, il avait toujours l'avantage dans toutes les affaires. Il était très supérieur en œnologie, la science favorite des Tourangeaux; et, comme il avait su arrondir les prairies de sa terre aux dépens des laisses de la Loire en évitant tout procès avec le domaine de l'Etat, il passait pour un homme de talent [4]. Si, charmé par la conversation de M. de Bourbonne [5], vous eussiez demandé ce qu'il était à quelque Tourangeau:

—Oh! *c'est un vieux malin!* ...

Etait la réponse proverbiale faite par tous ses jaloux [6], car, en Touraine, la jalousie forme, comme dans la plupart des provinces, le fonds de la langue [7].

[*Mame* 359-60]⁵⁸

The third *dossier* is interesting from several points of view. It is that of a "good" *vieille fille*. Mlle Salomon, the friend of Birotteau, offsets Mlle Gamard, his vindictive enemy. If we examine this long addition, we find that it parallels the disquisition on unloving and unloved old maids and the *dossier* on Mlle Gamard—passages which Balzac carefully re-wrote for *2a*, as we have seen. Generalizations on the "good" type contrast with those on the "mean" species. Then we are told that Mlle Salomon is an illustration of the noble old maid, as we have been told that Mlle Gamard's eyes betray her distorted nature. Next come details on each old maid and, last, the attitude of each toward Birotteau.

The most striking part of this *dossier*, however, is the allusion to the unfortunate Louis Lambert, whom Mlle Salomon was to have married. Although the suitor's name is not given, his identity is unmistakable. He became insane, we are told, and his fiancée consecrated herself to his care until the day of his death. Mlle Salomon de Villenoix is, then, one of Balzac's first reappearing characters, although at this stage of the story Balzac has not worked out the time interval between *Louis Lambert* and

⁵⁸ Variations in *2a*/ms, 120-21: (1) "la profonde indifférence du propriétaire"; (2) "le"; (3) "de l'observation"; (4) "il paraissait un homme de génie"; (5) "charmé de sa conversation"; (6) "de ses jaloux," *faite* does not occur; (7) "provinces, une maladie permanente." The sentence structure is also different. The italics are found in the text. Such differences as occur in the succeeding editions have been discussed under their proper categories.

Le Curé de Tours, and he makes Mlle Salomon too old.⁵⁹ This *dossier* is so important that it must be given here, as it first appeared:

Dans la *citta dolente* des vieilles filles, il s'en rencontre beaucoup, surtout en France, dont la vie est un sacrifice noblement offert tous les jours à de nobles sentimens. Les unes restent fièrement [1] fidèles à un cœur que la mort leur a trop promptement ravi; et [2] martyres de l'amour, trouvent le secret d'être femmes par l'âme. Les autres, obéissant à un orgueil de famille, qui, chaque

⁵⁹ Cf. A. Canfield, "Les Personnages reparaissants dans la *Comédie humaine*," *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, XLI (1934), 17. Mr. Canfield says: "[Balzac] semble ne s'être souvenu que vaguement de Pauline [de Villenoix] en décrivant la 'vieille fille' du *Curé de Tours*." And he adds later: "Il est évident que Mademoiselle de Villenoix, en reparaissant dans le *Curé de Tours*, ne joue nullement le rôle des personnages reparaissants qui rappellent un groupe de personnages connus et représentent un milieu social. D'ailleurs, les deux romans en question sont tous deux de 1832, et personne n'a songé à faire remonter l'origine de ce procédé au delà de 1833." One cannot deny, however, that Mlle Salomon contributes to that impression of solidity which Balzac sought to give his social order, nor can one be too sure that Balzac remembered her only vaguely when he put her in *Le Curé de Tours*. Had she really been thought out as a character of *Louis Lambert* when Balzac was correcting *C.T.* 2a? In our manuscript the connection with Louis Lambert does not, of course, exist. In 2a, however, he has added the details to which Mr. Canfield objects but which are, with one exception, explained by the fact that Balzac thought of her at this time as a much older woman than she is in *Louis Lambert*. He writes: "... pendant vingt années, elle s'était avec le courage de l'amour, consacrée au bonheur mécanique de ce malheureux" (2a, 127). Since *Le Curé de Tours* is dated April, 1832, and appeared in May of that year, and since *Louis Lambert* is dated June-July, 1832, and appeared in October, 1832 (*Lov., Hist.*, p. 190), it may well be that Balzac had not yet thoroughly conceived *Louis Lambert* when he was correcting 2a. He therefore makes Mlle Salomon too old for her role in *Louis Lambert*. He also makes her a member of the aristocratic set of Tours, whereas, as Mr. Canfield points out, in *Louis Lambert* provincial prejudice excludes her from noble society. In the first edition of *Louis Lambert* Balzac writes: "Mais l'origine de mademoiselle de Villenoix et les préjugés que l'on conserve en province contre les Juifs, ne lui permettaient pas, malgré sa fortune et celle de son tuteur, d'être reçu dans cette société toute exclusive qui s'appelle, à tort ou à raison, la Noblesse" (*Notice biographique sur Louis Lambert, Nouveaux Contes philosophiques* [1832], p. 363). But in the manuscript of our story Mlle Salomon is, at first, just *une autre vieille fille* who comes to see Mlle Gamard. It is in the corrections in 2a (see p. 239) that her visits are paid to the *abbé*, who is an old friend, and that she is said to belong to the aristocratic group. One would have to compare the manuscripts of the two novels in order to work out the genesis of Mlle Salomon's role, but it looks as though Balzac introduced a rather shadowy Mlle Salomon in *Le Curé de Tours* (1), and then set her solidly on her feet in 2a both as a friend of Birotteau and as the woman beloved of Louis Lambert. When he later thought out her role more completely for *Louis Lambert* she was too integral a part of the plot of *Le Curé de Tours* to be greatly changed there; so he merely made her younger in his effort to harmonize the two stories more accurately.

jour, déchoit à notre honte, se dévouent à la fortune d'un frère, ou à des neveux orphelins; celles-là se font mères en restant vierges. Mais en consacrant les sentimens de la femme au culte du malheur, ces vieilles filles atteignent à tout l'héroïsme de leur sexe, et en idéalisant, pour ainsi dire, la destination, en renonçant aux récompenses et n'en acceptant que les peines. Elles vivent alors entourées de la splendeur de leur dévouement, et les hommes inclinent respectueusement la tête devant leurs traits flétris. Mademoiselle de Sombreuil n'a été ni femme, ni fille; elle fut et sera la poésie vivante.

Or, mademoiselle Salomon appartenait à ces créatures [3] héroïques, et son dévouement était religieusement sublime, en ce qu'il devait être sans gloire, après avoir été une souffrance de tous les jours. Belle, jeune, elle fut aimée, elle aima. Le jeune homme dont elle devait être la femme perdit la raison. Pendant vingt années, elle s'était, avec le courage de l'amour, consacrée au bonheur mécanique de ce malheureux, dont elle avait assez épousé la folie pour ne plus y croire.

C'était, du reste, une personne simple de manières, franche de langage, et dont le visage pâle ne manquait pas de physionomie, malgré l'irrégularité de ses traits. Elle ne parlait jamais des événemens de sa vie; mais, parfois, les tréssailemens soudains qui lui échappaient en entendant le récit d'une aventure ou affreuse ou triste, révélaient en elle les belles qualités que développent les grandes douleurs. Elle était venue habiter Tours, après avoir perdu son compagnon; et, ne pouvant y être appréciée à sa juste valeur, elle passait pour une *bonne personne*. Elle faisait beaucoup de bien; et s'attachant, par goût, aux êtres faibles, le pauvre vicaire lui avait inspiré naturellement un profond intérêt.

[*Mame* 368-70]⁶⁰

Balzac, as we know, liked to cite documents. Thus he has, in *Le Curé de Tours*, quoted the full text of a legal agreement between Mlle Gamard and the Abbé Birotteau. This document is made more specific and more binding by three additions inserted in 2a. The first of these limits the time during which the Abbé Birotteau may pay less than Mlle Gamard usually receives from her lodgers: "... attendu qu'il reconnaît être hors d'état de donner *pendant plusieurs années* le prix payé par les pensionnaires de la demoiselle Gamard ..." (2a, 133; *Mame* 377+). The second addition is a part of the clause on which Birotteau's lawyer will later accuse Mlle Gamard of intention to defraud his client:

⁶⁰ Variants in 2a/ms, 126-27: (1) "fièrement" does not occur; (2) "et" does not occur; (3) "était une de ces créatures." The sentences are longer also. The italics are found in the text.

Variants in the editions: This passage is considerably changed stylistically in Béchet. Additional stylistic variations are made for the Furne. One realistic variation is made in Béchet, where "vingt ans" becomes "cinq ans" (114).

... ledit Birotteau s'engage à laisser à mademoiselle Gamard à titre d'indemnité, le mobilier dont il se trouvera possesseur ...

[2a, 133]

... et eu égard à diverses avances faites par ladite soussignée, ledit Birotteau s'engage à lui laisser à titre d'indemnité le mobilier dont il se trouvera possesseur ...

[Mame 377+]

The third insertion, involving time again, gives Mlle Gamard more strength with which to strike her enemy, a power which we understand later in the story: "... lorsque, par telle cause que ce soit, il viendrait à quitter volontairement, et à telle époque que ce puisse être,⁶¹ les lieux à lui présentement loués ..." (2a, 134; Mame 377-78).

Balzac's sociological intention is one of his salient realistic qualities. In an aside inserted in 2a, 90+ of our story, he calls himself an "historien exact," and in the *Avant-propos* he speaks of himself as "copiant toute la Société."⁶² One of his fundamental ideas is, as we have seen, that of the *espèces sociales*. And one of his most characteristic traits is his habit of generalizing about these same groups or about the larger social order of which they are a part.

In *Le Curé de Tours* the first emphasis is, of course, on *les célibataires*. We have seen that Balzac, in inserting Mlle Salomon's *dossier* in 2a, added generalizations about the "good" *vieille fille* (2a/ms, 126-27+). In reworking the passage about the old maids of Mlle Gamard's type he omitted one such general remark: "La femme qui n'a pas été instruite par l'amour dans le grand art de plaire, n'en connaît l'usage, ni les ressources" (2a, 102-3). We learn that to forgive a passion must be "moins facile à un prêtre" (Mame 292+) than merely to divine it (2b, 10). Apropos of the Abbé Birotteau's innocence of the world and its *mœurs*, we are told, in an addition in Mame, why he would never understand the secret motives of Mlle Gamard's hatred of him: "*Il n'y a qu'un homme de génie ou un intrigant qui se disent:—J'ai eu tort! ... parce que l'intérêt et le talent sont les seuls conseillers consciencieux et lucides*" (1, 20; Mame 304+).

The second sociological purpose of the novel is to depict the provincial scene. This particular scene Balzac knew very well, and he added at this stage of his story a number of thrusts at the Tourangeaux as typical provincials.

We have seen (p. 233) that in the *dossier* of M. de Bourbonne "le vieux malin" is characterized as a man who "résumait toutes les idées de la province" and who "semblable à un paysan de Normandie avait toujours

⁶¹ 2a/ms reads here "que ce soit"; Béch. 122+ reads "que ce soit."

⁶² *Con.* I, xxxii.

l'avantage dans toutes les affaires" (2a, 120). The daily conversations of Mlle Gamard and of Birotteau offer "une peinture achevée de la vie toute béotienne des provinciaux" (*Mame* 333+) rather than merely a picture of "la vie des niais" (2a, 109). "La monotonie d'une vie provinciale" is stressed between 2c (344) and *Mame* (344+). The conspiracy against the Abbé Birotteau becomes in *Mame* "cette intrigue si bien en harmonie avec la vie de province" (1, 53; *Mame* 357+). At first Balzac writes that Mme de Listomère's friends "commençaient à s'amuser de cette intrigue jetée dans le vide de leur vie provinciale" (2a, 122), but later he emphasizes the empty boredom of their life in the provinces by substituting for "s'amuser" the stronger expression, "se passionner" (*Mame* 362+). The shrewd presentiment which tells these aristocrats that they must fight Troubert as well as Mlle Gamard is characterized in an addition in the *princeps* as "un instinct provincial" (2a, 136; *Mame* 380+). The self-interest of this same provincial group is brought out in a substitution which accentuates social, rather than personal, implications. When the Abbé Birotteau's aristocratic friends are urging him to sue Mlle Gamard and are promising him their support, the "vieux malin" takes him aside and says to him:

Des quatorze personnes qui sont ici, vous n'en aurez pas une pour vous, dans quinze jours, et si vous avez besoin de quelqu'un, vous ne trouverez guère que moi qui puisse vous rendre service, parce que je n'ai jamais laissé à personne de prise sur moi, et que je défierais même Troubert de me causer la moindre peine. [2a, 136]

Des quatorze personnes qui sont ici ... il n'y en aura pas une pour vous dans quinze jours! Alors, si vous avez besoin d'appeler quelqu'un à votre secours, vous ne trouverez peut-être que moi d'assez hardi pour prendre votre défense, parceque je connais la province, les hommes, les choses, et mieux que cela encore, les intérêts. [*Mame* 380+]

Provincial jealousy is stressed, as we have seen, in the *dossier* on M. de Bourbonne. It is "tous ses jaloux" who call him "le vieux malin," jealousy being in Touraine, as in most of the provinces, "le fonds de la langue." The phrase "tous ses jaloux" is further emphasized in Béchét by the addition of "et il en avait beaucoup" (*Béch.* 106+).

The gossip of Tours is scored in several variations. In *Mame* the Abbé Troubert speaks of "les médisances de la ville" (*Mame* 319+).⁶³ Mlle Salomon is worried by "les suppositions et les calomnies" (*Mame* 361+) that are repeated against Birotteau in Mlle de La Blottière's salon. The passage recounting the ramified activities of the gossips who supply the

⁶³ This addition does not occur in 2a, our only proof for this passage.

silent Troubert with the information he wants for the Congrégation is fully re-written (2a, 138-41; *Mame* 382-86).

Other additions tell us that Touraine is "un pays où personne ne veut se déranger, même pour aller chercher un plaisir" (1, 52; *Mame* 354+); that the "science favorite des Tourangeaux" is "œnologie" (2a/ms, 121; *Mame* 359+); and that the heroic Mlle Salomon cannot be appreciated "à sa juste valeur" (2a/ms, 127; *Mame* 370+) in Tours.

This concludes our study of Balzac's general realistic traits, as they are exemplified in the variations between the proofs and the first edition. Although the total number (forty-nine) is not large, these changes contribute important features to our story.

Eleven variants illustrate Balzac's ideal of truth. Exaggerated statements are toned down, and discrepancies are harmonized. Conflicting periods of time are made to conform when they are essential to the impression of truth.

Although his bent toward materialism led Balzac to increase one sum of money between the proofs and *Mame*, we find that he has also omitted two amounts and shortened an enumeration of personal property. There is, then, no exaggeration in these variants.

Variations involving *dossiers* and documents are significant. The most important changes introduced for the first edition were the *dossiers*. Two of these are masterly examples of Balzac's skill in presenting his characters and their background *en bloc*. Pertinent additions to a contract attest to Balzac's accurate knowledge of the law and to his care in the use of legal terminology.

The sociological changes, totaling twenty-six, are the most numerous of these realistic alterations. Generalizations concerning priests and old maids as types are introduced. Variations stressing the dulness and smallness of provincial life add more than one darkening touch to the story. The importance of gossip in small communities is emphasized in several changes, while others score the laziness of the Tourangeaux. In short, the picture of life in Tours, that is, in the provinces, becomes less flattering with each change. Finally, among the sociological changes are several comparisons of Balzacian characters to historical personages. Thus Balzac links effectively his world to society in its full scope.

b) *Technical elements*.—We know that Balzac had some difficulty in getting this story under way; witness the *brouillons* discussed above (pp. 192 ff.). He seems, too, to have been somewhat uncertain at first as to the role of Mlle Salomon—a role of considerable importance to the ex-

position and the plot. Through the first proof the Abbé Birotteau makes her acquaintance in Mlle Gamard's salon, where she is a frequent guest; yet she is spoken of as a member of the exclusive noble set of Tours (2a, 82, 87). When, however, Balzac corrected 2a, he had Mlle Salomon, as we know her, clearly in mind. We know that he inserted her *dossier* at this time. By means of this *dossier* Balzac created, as we have observed, a certain balance in the particular social scene he was depicting.

The author also introduced a few variations in the exposition of his story which change the relationship of Mlle Salomon to Mlle Gamard and the vicar. She now comes to the former's home because of her friendship for Birotteau:

Une autre vieille fille <i>étant venue voir</i> Mademoiselle Gamard ...	[2a, 82]	Une autre vieille fille, <i>amie de Birot-</i> <i>teau, nommée mademoiselle Salomon de</i> <i>Villenoix, étant venue le voir ...</i>
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[*Mame* 312+]

Her aristocratic connections are stressed and explain Mlle Gamard's great pride in her visits:

Ses paroles furent d'autant plus humblement altières et abondamment doucereuses, que mademoiselle Salomon de Villenoix appartenant [1] à la société la plus aristocratique de Tours, elle [Mlle Gamard] triomphait de l'avoir chez elle, [2] quoique mademoiselle Salomon y vînt uniquement [3] par amitié pour le vicar.

[*Mame* 314+]⁶⁴

Balzac made, in all, four changes dealing with Mlle Salomon in his exposition. They seem to bring out more clearly the gulf between the aristocratic and the bourgeois circles of the two old maids, and they add to the reader's understanding of Mlle Gamard's bitter revenge. The greater her success has been, the deeper is her disappointment at the failure of her salon.

The exposition as a whole is long, as Balzac's introductions tend to be. To explain this length he added, in correcting 2a, an aside in which he reiterates the necessity for exactness on the part of the novelist:

... les événemens qui constituent en quelque sorte l'avant-scène de ce drame de bas étage, mais où les sentimens dont la vie humaine est agitée, se retrouvent tout aussi violens que s'ils étaient excités par de grands intérêts, *ont exigé cette espèce d'introduction, dont il était difficile à un historien exact de resserrer les développemens nécessaires.*

[*Mame* 322]

⁶⁴ Variants in 2a/ms: (1) "appartenait"; (2) this clause does not occur; (3) "et consentait à venir chez elle" instead of "quoique ... uniquement."

The explanation replaced a simple prepositional phrase, "sur un théâtre élevé," in 2a, 90. Two interesting variations are introduced in this passage in later editions. In Béchét, Balzac lays further stress on the importance of detail in the novel by substituting for "les développemens nécessaires" the phrase "les minutieux développements" (*Béch.* 72+). In Furne "ce drame de bas étage" becomes "ce drame bourgeois" (*Fur.* 19+), a change which suggests perhaps the significance which Balzac attached to *conditions*.

With regard to characterization we have already seen that Balzac introduced three important *dossiers* at this stage of *Le Curé de Tours* (cf. above, pp. 232-35). The importance which he attached to the name of a character is brought out in the first of these, that of Mme de Listomère. Those of M. de Bourbonne and of Mlle Salomon are excellent examples of Balzac's method of giving his reader, in a block, both the biographical and the sociological background of his characters.

The *dossier* is not, however, Balzac's only method for standing his characters on their feet. One effective device which he uses is that of scattered detail. This detail he frequently accumulates and harmonizes around a keynote, or, as we say in the case of his monomaniacs, around a ruling passion. A number of variations between the proofs and the first edition are due to scattered changes in detail which build up the characters both physically and psychologically.

Mlle Gamard's driving passion is her ambition. We therefore find Balzac substituting for "la vieille fille" (2a, 84) the specific "l'ambitieuse Gamard" (*Mame* 315+). The deep-rooted sense of inferiority which torments this woman is well brought out in the following change:

... elle dit à ses bonnes amies en sortant de Saint-Gatien que les personnes qui désiraient la voir pouvaient bien venir, le soir chez elle ... [2a, 84-85]

... un soir, en sortant de Saint-Gatien, elle dit aux bonnes amies, dont elle se considérait comme l'esclave jusqu'alors, que les personnes qui désiraient la voir, pouvaient bien venir une fois par semaine chez elle ... [*Mame* 314+]

Her egotism is illustrated by an addition in the *Mame* edition, where we are told that the Abbé Chapeloud was always, every day, "sûr de caresser toutes les vanités de la vieille fille" (1, 24-26; *Mame* 308+).

Balzac emphasizes the Abbé Birotteau's passion for Chapeloud's possessions by changing it from a mere "convoitise" (2c, 285) to a "concupiscence mobilière" (*Mame* 287+). The simple goodness of the vicar is stressed in an early addition: "Mais le bon vicaire n'ayant pas en lui des

qualités qui pussent contraster avec les défauts de son hôtesse, fut obligé, pour les reconnaître et pour en être choqué, de subir la douleur, ce cruel avertissement donné par la nature à toutes ses créations" (2a/ms, 86;⁶⁵ *Mame* 317). This same trait of the vicar is further stressed in a revision in which, "voulant que tout le monde fût heureux" (2a, 95; *Mame* 329+), Birotteau tells Troubert that the latter will soon be living in the archbishop's palace. Birotteau's love of comfort is brought out by the addition of a prepositional phrase in the *princeps*: "Puis, il resta, *selon son habitude*, plongé dans les rêveries somnolescentes pendant lesquelles Marianne avait coutume de lui allumer du feu" (2a, 91; *Mame* 323+). Another variation emphasizes the same desire for creature comforts:

Mademoiselle Gamard vue de loin et à travers le prisme du *bonheur idéal* qu'il avait rêvé près d'elle lui semblait une créature parfaite ... [2a, 181]

Mademoiselle Gamard, vue de loin, et à travers le prisme des *félicités matérielles* qu'il avait rêvé de goûter près d'elle, lui semblait une créature parfaite ... [*Mame* 311+]

Love of ease was also a dominant trait of the clever Abbé Chapeloud. Balzac's use of concrete detail to bring out a psychological trait is well illustrated in the following addition, which appears *en bloc* in *Mame*. Chapeloud is speaking:

Voilà vivre! ... N'avoir rien à chercher, pas même ses pantoufles! ... Trouver toujours bon feu, bonne table ... Enfin, mon soufflet m'impatientait, parce qu'il avait de larynx embarrassé ... Je ne m'en suis pas plaint deux fois ... le lendemain, elle m'a donné un très joli soufflet, et cette paire de badines avec lesquelles vous me voyez tisonner! ... [*Mame* 295-96+]⁶⁶

The adjective "adroit" is added in *Mame* to the description of Chapeloud as an "égoïste spirituel" (1, 22; *Mame* 306+). The wily canon avoids taking his suppers at Mlle Gamard's (1, 24). An added detail in *Mame* gives us his reason for doing so and emphasizes his adroit selfishness:

... il avait évité *le souper* en prenant ... il avait évité *les ennuis du souper* en tous les soirs du thé dans les maisons prenant tous les soirs du thé dans les où il allait passer ses soirées ... [1, 24] maisons où il allait passer ses soirées ... [*Mame* 307+]

A few touches are added to Troubert's character. His persistence is suggested in an addition in *Mame* where he is called "fidèle et patient"

⁶⁵ The manuscript correction reads "l'avertissement" and "une douleur." The whole addition forms a lengthy clause in 2a/ms.

⁶⁶ We have no proof for this addition. 2b, the only extant proof for this part of the story, stops just before Chapeloud's speech.

(2*a*, 83; *Mame* 314+). When the dispossessed Birotteau enters his former apartment, Troubert's "air sardonique" reveals to him at long last the full measure of Troubert's perseverance and hatred. The adjective is an insertion in the first edition (2*a*, 128; *Mame* 371+). Troubert's love of power and his egotism are made more prominent in the following thoroughgoing revision, which concerns Mme de Listomère's call on the man she must conciliate:

[Troubert] *ne fut pas insensible peut-être au plaisir de la recevoir dans la bibliothèque de Troubert*⁶⁷ et au coin de cette cheminée ornée des deux fameux tableaux. *Elle dut sans doute à ce sentiment, le succès de sa demande.* [2*a*, 154]

Flatté peut-être de voir dans la bibliothèque de Chapeloud, et au coin de cette cheminée ornée des deux fameux tableaux, une femme qui l'avait méconnu, Troubert fit attendre la baronne un moment, puis consentit à la recevoir.

[*Mame* 401]⁶⁸

Voice and gesture are often indicative of character with Balzac. One addition illustrates the use of voice in this way. When Mlle Gamard disdainfully remarks that the Abbé Birotteau rarely reads his "gros livres," the vicar answers by inquiring about her health "d'une voix flûtée" (2*a*, 97; *Mame* 330+). Nothing could be more indicative of the *abbé's* timidity than the added detail about his voice.

Gesture is used to stress the character of M. de Bourbonne. His decisive manner of closing his snuffbox or of putting it down is a *tic* that harmonizes with his quick mind and wary nature. It is a language that even the naïve Birotteau understands. Mme de Listomère has just remarked that, since the vicar proposes to leave Mlle Gamard's apartment, there is no inconvenience in signing a legal statement to that effect:

—Cela est juste! ... dit le propriétaire en fermant sa tabatière; mais il est toujours dangereux d'écrire ... [1, 56]

—Cela est juste! ... dit M. de Bourbonne en fermant sa tabatière *par un geste sec dont il est impossible de rendre le langage télégraphique.* Mais il est toujours dangereux d'écrire, *ajouta-t-il en posant sa tabatière sur la cheminée, d'un air à effrayer le vicaire.*

[*Mame* 364; *Char.* 61]

We have seen how voice and gesture are used by Balzac to stress character. Detail regarding costume may also be used to keynote a personality. Mlle Gamard's drab appearance is indicative of her uninteresting

⁶⁷ Balzac corrects this slip on 2*a*.

⁶⁸ The last phrase is changed in *Béch.* 147, as we shall see.

nature. In the following variation the substituted adjective suggests not only the color but the uniformity of a nun's habit, and the reader's sense of the monotony of Mlle Gamard's dress is at once heightened:

Sa robe, <i>de couleur puce</i> , et de taffetas en été, de mérinos en hiver ... [2c, 341]	Sa robe, de taffetas en été, de mérinos en hiver, <i>mais toujours couleur carmê- lite</i> ... [Mame 334+]
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Details of physical appearance may be used in the harmonizing of a personality. In the following example the added information concerning Mlle Gamard's thinness is a case in point:

[Sa robe] ... lui serrait sa taille et les bras. [2c, 341] ⁶⁹	... serrait sa taille <i>disgracieuse</i> et ses bras <i>maigres</i> . [Mame 341]
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Having added these details to the physical portrait of Mlle Gamard, Balzac took out two others: "Elle avait le pied gros et la main desséchée" (2c, 341; Mame 341). Omission of detail is so unusual that it is always striking. However, the graceless figure and thin arms are more evocative than a dried-up hand and would justify the omission of the latter detail. Perhaps, too, Balzac thought that the old maid's large feet could be surmised from her peasant origin.

One other similar addition is interesting because it shows us Balzac's desire to explain a physical characteristic by a psychological cause and also because it increases our impression of Mlle Gamard's tonelessness: "A dix-huit ans, elle avait pu être fraîche et grasse, mais il ne lui restait aucune trace ni de la blancheur ni des couleurs qu'elle se vantait d'avoir eues; *et les tons de sa chair avaient contracté une teinte blafarde assez commune chez les dévotes*" (2c, 342;⁷⁰ Mame 341+).

Usually descriptions of the milieu are varied from the proofs to the first edition by means of added details. There are many examples, of which we can mention only a few. We are not told at first, for example, that the chairs which Chapeloud buys are carved: "Puis, le chanoine eut assez de goût pour chercher et trouver de vieux fauteuils en bois de noyer *sculpté* ..." (2c, 287; Mame 289+). *Le petit pavé* (1, 12) on which the wooden shoes of Mlle Gamard's servant clack is called "caillouteux" in Mame (298+). The noise of the shoes seems at once louder to the reader!

⁶⁹ Balzac's autograph corrections here read "*une* taille disgracieuse" and "*des* bras maigres."

⁷⁰ The text of 2c reads: "... elle avait dû être ... mais il ne restait" "Pu" and "lui" are marginal corrections. The added autograph clause reads "*car les tons*" and "*avaient cette teinte* ..." (2c/ms).

Mlle Gamard's house bore a close architectural resemblance to Saint-Gatien. We learn, moreover, in the *princeps* that "[cette maison] avait toujours été occupée par des abbés ..." (2c, 283; *Mame* 285+). This added clause is characteristic of Balzac's tendency to tell us all he knew about a person or thing, to clutter his descriptions with information. However, by means of this insertion the house takes on a certain realistic solidity, a character which tells us as much about it as do the architectural details and which harmonizes with the events in the story. It is perhaps less important that the supplementary feature seems to be based on actual fact⁷¹ than that it creates an impression of reality.

Another variant between the proofs and the *princeps* illustrates the use of an added detail for both realistic and psychological effect. In the passage describing Mlle Gamard's *salon jaune*, Balzac inserts between 2c and the first edition the remark that the room was "digne d'elle" (2c, 343; *Mame* 343+). The addition is important, since it stresses the *coquille* idea—the room and the hostess explain each other.

In correcting this novel for the first edition Balzac made no large changes for technical reasons. The only alteration affecting the plot was the easily accomplished change in the role of Mlle Salomon. Accentuating her friendship for the Abbé Birotteau set in higher relief Mlle Gamard's hatred of him and of his aristocratic friends. Variations affecting the characters occur twenty-two times. In each case additional detail is introduced to make the characterization more explicit. Descriptions are enriched by this same method. Thus the milieu becomes more exact, and "things" are more and more concretely visualized. The salient feature of the technical corrections between the proofs and *Mame* is, then, the use of supplementary detail. This device accounts for all but five of the variations which derive from Balzac's technique.

C. CHANGES BETWEEN THE SEVERAL EDITIONS

I. STYLISTIC VARIATIONS

Balzac's constant effort to improve his style is amply illustrated in the changes he introduced in the text of *Le Curé de Tours* from edition to edition. These variations are of the same character as those which we have studied for the other stages of the novel; consequently, we shall mention in our present discussion only the most striking and the most frequently occurring changes.⁷²

⁷¹ See Miss Marhofer's study in Dargan, Crain, and Others, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁷² This study has been made independently of Maurice Allem's edition of *Le Curé de Tours* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1937), which lists the variants between *Mame* and

a) *According to sentence structure.*—Although for the Furne edition Balzac several times combines two sentences into one, his more pronounced tendency to break up sentences continues from text to text. There are one hundred and forty-five cases of shortened sentences in the Béchét text alone. In one instance a single overcrowded sentence of the manuscript has become seven separate elements in the 1834 edition.⁷³ The original sentence comprised the whole of Troubert's cold reply to the Abbé Birotteau when the vicar returned to his former apartment to claim his furniture.

The most frequent changes in sentence structure occur in dependent clauses. We find a number of examples of the characteristic reduction of a clause to a participial phrase:

Madame de Listomère retourna
chez elle, espérant que l'archevêque
achèverait l'ouvrage *qu'elle avait si*
heureusement *commencé* ...

[*Mame* 405]

Madame de Listomère retourna
chez elle, espérant que l'archevêque
consommerait une œuvre de paix si
heureusement *commencée*.

[*Béch.* 155+]

The opposite change, however, from participial phrase to clause, also occurs (*Char.* 1; *Fur.* 1+). Relative clauses introduced by *dont* are changed to *qui* or *que* constructions in several instances in the 1843 edition. The change does not seem especially significant, except for the fact that Balzac was always self-conscious about his *donts*:

... écoutant et cherchant à comprendre
le sens des rapides paroles *dont tout le*
monde était prodigue.

[*Char.* 61]

... écoutant et cherchant à comprendre
le sens des rapides paroles *que tout le*
monde prodiguait.

[*Fur.* 37+]

These examples will suffice to illustrate the most typical changes which Balzac made in sentence structure for the various editions of our novel. The total number of changes involving sentence structure is one hundred and forty-five.

b) *According to rhetorical devices.*—The most obvious case of amplification is the long passage (see below, p. 267) added by Balzac after the *princeps* to the end of the story. This passage expands and elaborates the

Conard. The present analysis is, by its very nature, much more detailed. I find, too, that sometimes M. Allem does not include all the variants. For example, he does not note on his p. 3, l. 18, "la" (*Béch.; Char.*) for "cette"; p. 7, l. 24, "l'humble ami" (*Mame; Béch.; Char.*) for "le camarade"; p. 9, l. 4, "lui" (*Mame; Béch.; Char.*) for "à Birotteau"; p. 9, l. 22, "il" (*Mame; Béch.; Char.*) for "celui-ci"; p. 25, ll. 31-32, "un homme difficileux" (*Mame*), etc.

⁷³ These sentences may be located in *Con.*, IX, 220, ll. 9-22.

idea of the final sentence: "Or, nous vivons à une époque où le défaut des gouvernemens est d'avoir fait la société moins pour l'homme, que l'homme pour la société" (*Mame* 413+). From the point of view of style the passage is badly written. Moreover, it makes the ending of the book cumbersome and uninteresting. Amplifications of the more usual sort may be illustrated in the following elaboration, which emphasizes the naïveté of the Abbé Birotteau, who was "toute expansion":

... s'amusant de tout avec simplicité.	... et s'amusait d'une bagatelle avec la
[<i>Mame</i> 325]	simplicité d'un homme sans fiel, ni
	malice. [<i>Béch.</i> 74-75+]

Additions are especially important between the *princeps* and the Béchet edition. Two long passages, fifty-five sentences, and forty-two shorter additions were inserted in the 1834 volume. One of the passages is the long conclusion we have just mentioned. The other is largely dialogue and will be considered under that heading. Seventeen of the sentences are the parenthetical thoughts introduced in the conversation between Mme de Listomère and Troubert (see below, p. 268). The rest are scattered throughout the story and deal primarily with the Abbé Birotteau's naïveté, M. de Bourbonne's astute worldly wisdom, the self-interest of the Listomères, and Troubert's relentless hatred of Birotteau (*Béch.* 97, 100-101, 105, 143, 145, 146, 148, 160). Generalizations account for two sentences: one on the church, another on the price man pays for his ambitions; philology is the subject of still a third addition (*Béch.* 129-30, 144, 162). Stylistically, the longer additions are used as transitions, for emphasis, or to round off and complete a paragraph. For example, Balzac introduced the following transitional sentences in order to explain the intercalated thoughts in the interview between Mme de Listomère and Troubert:

Quelques dessinateurs se sont amusés à représenter en caricature le contraste fréquent qui existe entre *ce que l'on dit* et *ce que l'on pense*.⁷⁴ Ici, pour bien saisir l'intérêt du duel de paroles qui eut lieu entre le prêtre et la grande dame, il est nécessaire de dévoiler les pensées qu'ils cachèrent mutuellement sous des phrases en apparence insignifiantes. [*Béch.* 148+]

Repetitions are extremely rare in this novel, but we find Balzac inserting one in Béchet in order to stress a situation. When Mme de Listomère explains to the Abbé Birotteau the measures which must be taken to combat Troubert's power, the vicar, in his consternation, repeats one of her

⁷⁴ The italics are found in the text.

remarks to himself: "*Et, peut-être avec le secours de Monseigneur l'archevêque pourra-t-on en finir!*"⁷⁵ (*Béch.* 145+). In the following example the original sentence was an interpolation which interrupted the narration of Birotteau's awakening sense of doom. The addition not only continues the figure of speech fittingly, but it also concludes the paragraph logically. Balzac, in speaking of Mlle Gamard's cruelty to Birotteau, says of old maids of her type:

Elles égratignent à la manière des chats; et non seulement elles blessent, mais elles éprouvent du plaisir à blesser, et à faire voir à leur victime qu'elles l'ont blessée. [*Mame* 302]

Elles égratignent à la manière des chats. Puis, non-seulement elles blessent, mais elles éprouvent du plaisir à blesser, et à faire voir à leur victime qu'elles l'ont blessée. *Un homme du monde ne se serait pas laissé griffer deux fois; mais le bon Birotteau avait besoin de plusieurs coups de patte dans la figure, avant de croire à une intention méchante.* [*Béch.* 53+]

Shorter additions occur frequently. They serve, as usual, to explain and clarify (*Mame* 375-76; *Béch.* 120; *Fur.* 41). Balzac may use these short insertions for technical emphasis. In the following example the italicized phrase is an addition in Béchet. Mme de Listomère's nephew is forced by Troubert to sue Birotteau, and we are told: "*Quelques jours après l'exploit introductif d'instance*, le baron fut nommé capitaine de vaisseau" (*Mame* 411; *Béch.* 161+). Again, Mme de Listomère stresses Birotteau's rights, which, she says in an addition in Béchet, are "reconnus par des avocats distingués" (*Mame* 404; *Béch.* 153+).

Compressions are, as usual, less frequent than additions and elaborations. However, it must not be supposed that Balzac did not strive constantly to make his style more concise and exact. Among a number of examples, let us quote two typical changes. In speaking of Mlle Salomon, Balzac writes:

Le jeune homme dont elle devait être la femme perdit la raison. [*Mame* 369] *Son prétendu* perdit la raison. [*Béch.* 114+]

Similarly the clause "les sentimens dont le cœur humain est agité" (*Char.* 31) is condensed to "les passions" (*Fur.* 19+).

The number of omissions occurring between the published texts is, as usual with Balzac, not large. If, however, one counts here the suppression of almost all titles, such as *monsieur* and *l'abbé*, for the Furne edition (see

⁷⁵ The italics are Balzac's.

above, p. 195), the total is considerably increased. The most striking type of omission, that of conjunctions, will be discussed later. In one case Balzac has happily lightened his style by the omission of a clause containing a pedantic phrase:

En effet, ayant agi jadis très logiquement en obéissant aux lois naturelles de son égoïsme, il lui était impossible de deviner ses torts envers son hôtesse; *car l'intus-susception des âmes et le pouvoir du "connais-toi toi-même!"⁷⁶ ...* composent une science inconnue aux gens médiocres. [Mame 322]

The italicized clause does not occur in Béchét (71). The total number of contractions and omissions is sixty-eight. Compressions are effected fourteen times. Six sentences are struck out to avoid repetitions. There are nineteen cases of omission, exclusive of titles. In the latter category there are twenty-nine changes in the Furne edition.

Direct speech is introduced four times in the Béchét edition. Of these, two are important changes. A long scene between Mme de Listomère, her nephew, and *le vieux malin* is inserted in this 1834 text (see below, p. 268). This material is intercalated between a conversation occurring in Paris and one taking place in Tours. It serves as a transition and at the same time is a very excellent example of Balzac's ability to write dialogue. No important changes have been made in this scene since it first appeared. The dialogue is natural, moves quickly, and serves considerably to lighten the style at this point in the story. The most interesting insertion of dialogue, however, is that in the *duel de paroles* (see below, p. 268). Mme de Listomère and Troubert are fencing verbally. To stress the real animosity which exists between the two adversaries, Balzac adds in the Béchét edition a series of italicized sentences which represent the hostile thoughts of each speaker. This clever device adds much piquancy to the dialogue. We cannot quote the entire conversation, but two small sections will serve to illustrate the stylistic effectiveness of the added "thoughts." Mme de Listomère begins by saying how much she regrets the Abbé Birotteau's suit against Mlle Gamard. Then she adds that she would like to see the affair settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Troubert answers piously, all the while impiously thinking:

—Le mal est fait, madame, dit l'abbé d'une voix grave, la vertueuse made-moiselle Gamard se meurt.

—*Je ne m'intéresse pas plus à cette sotte fille qu'au Prêtre-Jean, pensait-il; mais*

⁷⁶ This phrase is italicized in the text.

*je voudrais bien vous mettre sa mort sur le dos, et vous en inquiéter la conscience, si vous êtes assez niais pour en prendre du souci.*⁷⁷ [Mame 401; Béch. 149+]

The canon, who could easily have Mme de Listomère's nephew retired, asks with polite malice whether the young officer has not been to Paris. His crafty thought is: "*Vous avez eu là de mes nouvelles ... Je puis vous écraser, vous qui m'avez méprisé. Vous venez capituler*" (Mame 402; Béch. 150+). But Mme de Listomère is as skilful as her antagonist. She answers in the affirmative, thanking Troubert for his interest in the baron, and adds aloud: "*Il y retourne ce soir, il est mandé par le ministre, qui est parfait pour nous, et voudrait ne pas lui voir quitter le service*" (Mame 402; Béch. 151+). This "sweet" speech, the whole of which is an addition in Béchet, is accompanied by the acid thought: "*Jésuite, tu ne nous écraseras pas ... et ta plaisanterie est comprise*" (Mame 402; Béch. 151+).

Speech-words are introduced in dialogue ten times in the Béchet edition and occasionally in the Furne. Their general purpose is to clarify. For example, Troubert attempts to intimidate Mme de Listomère with a glance from his sinister orange-colored eyes. Their dialogue having been interrupted, Balzac adds, when the baroness resumes the conversation: "... dit-elle en continuant" (Char. 96; Fur. 57).

Some mention should be made of Balzac's tendency to use rhetorical questions. The number introduced between the editions of *Le Curé de Tours* is, however, not large. These are inserted in the Béchet edition. When they do not occur too close together, they add variety and lightness to the style. They are usually substituted for a dependent clause, as in the example below:

C'était pour lui une sorte de mort,	C'était pour lui une sorte de mort.
<i>car c'était</i> briser toutes les racines par	N'était-ce pas briser toutes les racines
lesquelles il s'était planté dans le	par lesquelles il s'était planté dans le
monde. [Mame 381]	monde. [Béch. 125+]

Of the seven figures of speech involved in the variations between the published texts, four are metaphors and three are similes. Six of the changes occur in Béchet. Two of the metaphors are illustrative of Balzac's use of figures of speech which are in keeping with the profession of his characters. When the Marquis de Listomère tells his nephew, the naval officer, that to be promoted to a captaincy he must propitiate Troubert, the nephew makes his decision quickly. The entire sentence below is an

⁷⁷ The italics here, and in the other "thoughts" quoted, are in the text. The parentheses which today inclose the italicized sentences were not added until the Furne edition.

addition in Béchet: "*—Je ne veux pas, dit-il à son oncle, recevoir une seconde bordée ecclésiastique dans mes œuvres-vives!*" (*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 138-39+). And when M. de Bourbonne is counseling caution in dealing with Troubert, he says to the young officer: "*D'ailleurs, marchez la sonde en main, M. le marin*" (*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 141+). One of the metaphors is less happy and seems to have displeased Balzac, since this is the third time he has retouched it (see above, p. 201). In the final metaphor of the four, M. Caron, the lawyer of Mlle Gamard, is called "*le rongeur-papiers*" (*Mame* 356; *Béch.* 103+).

The similes are more usual. The victimized Abbé Birotteau "*devait succomber comme un agneau sous le coup du boucher*" (*Mame* 354; *Béch.* 101+). Mlle Gamard's voice is like a trumpet in his ears (*Mame* 374; *Béch.* 119+). And, lastly, the poor Abbé is "*doué d'une loquacité vide et sonore comme l'est un ballon*" (*Mame* 333; *Béch.* 81+).

To sum up our analysis of the variants due to rhetorical devices, we find that between the editions Balzac made two hundred and eighty changes of this nature. Amplifications and additions, occurring one hundred and twenty-seven times, are the most frequent of these changes. Of these, the most salient are the ninety-nine insertions which were introduced for the 1834 volume. These intercalations are especially important for the dialogue in the story, notably in the *duel de paroles*. Compressions and omissions are effected about one-third as often as the additions and are found almost evenly distributed between the Béchet and the Furne texts. A number of transpositions, which have not been illustrated, were made for clarity or smoothness and occur three times more often in Béchet than in Furne. Rhetorical questions are seldom run in, despite Balzac's liking for them. One single repetition was added for the sake of emphasis. A few speech-words were inserted for the same reason. Six new figures of speech were introduced in the 1834 edition. Of the total number of changes involving rhetorical devices, the ratio between the Béchet and the Furne texts is fairly even. The most significant variations were, however, introduced in the earlier volume.

c) *According to parts of speech.*—When we consider the verbal changes, we find again that, except in the cases of adverbs and conjunctions, substitutions occur more frequently than either additions or omissions. These changes are also, as usual, nearly all due to Balzac's effort to find the exact word.

Verbs are affected in two hundred and five of the variations between the editions. One hundred and one of these changes are substitutions. A

few examples will illustrate Balzac's practice. In the citation below, the substituted verb is perhaps not more exact than the original term, but it contrasts more logically with the verb of the principal clause. When the Abbé Birotteau accepts the reassurances of his aristocratic friends that a visit to Troubert will insure his nomination to the longed-for canonship, Balzac says of the vicar:

Les gens faibles se rassurent aussi facilement qu'ils *se désolent*.

[*Mame* 367]

Les gens faibles se rassurent aussi facilement qu'ils *s'effrayent*.

[*Béch.* 112+]

In the next illustration the substitution has been made in the first instance to avoid a repetition, but the particular verb "séduire" has no doubt been used with stylistic intent. A little earlier in the text Balzac has compared Chapeloud's apartment to a woman and has said that Birotteau's "concupiscence mobilière" began like the "passion vraie" of a young man for the woman he will always love:

Enfin, trois ans avant sa mort, l'abbé Chapeloud avait complété le confortable de son appartement en décorant le salon, dont le meuble, quoique simplement garni de velours d'Utrecht rouge, *avait ébloui les yeux* de Birotteau.

[*Char.* 8]

Enfin, trois ans avant sa mort, l'abbé Chapeloud avait complété le confortable de son appartement en décorant le salon. Quoique simplement garni de velours d'Utrecht rouge, le meuble *avait séduit* Birotteau.

[*Fur.* 6+]

In nine cases Balzac replaces a single verb by a verb plus an infinitive, as, for example, "jugea" by "sut juger" (*Mame* 306; *Béch.* 57+). His aim is no doubt exactness, but the compound form does not always achieve greater definiteness. A number of variations result from the substitution of a more exact verb for *avoir* and *être*. In the following example greater precision results from the changed form. Mlle Gamard was persecuting the poor vicar daily, but

Birotteau s'efforça de ne pas *être* sensible.

[*Mame* 319]

Birotteau s'efforça de ne pas *se montrer* sensible.

[*Béch.* 68+]

Vividness, as well as accuracy, is attained in the majority of the substitutions. Two examples involving past participles illustrate Balzac's effort to find the evocative word. In the first case, Balzac is speaking of the silence around Saint-Gatien, which is, he says, sometimes broken

par les cris des choucas *logés* dans le sommet des clochers. [*Mame* 284-85]

par les cris des choucas *nichés* dans le sommet des clochers. [*Béch.* 37+]

In the second instance, the thorough demolitions of the rapacious *Bande*

Noire are more graphically called to mind in the revision. Balzac is speaking of the Abbé Chapeloud:

... il employa cette somme à l'emplète d'une bibliothèque en chêne, prove- nant de la démolition d'un château <i>acheté</i> par la bande noire. [<i>Mame</i> 289]	Il employa cette somme à l'emplète d'une bibliothèque en chêne, prove- nant de la démolition d'un château <i>dépecé</i> par la bande noire. [<i>Béch.</i> 40+]
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Exactness accounts for the addition of eleven verbs: seven in the Béchét edition, four in the Furne. For example, Mlle Gamard and her prying friends

employaient toute leur journée à ta- miser les pas, les démarches de leurs voisins ... [<i>Mame</i> 383]	employaient toute leur journée à ta- miser les paroles, à <i>scruter</i> les démar- ches de leurs voisins ... [<i>Béch.</i> 127+]
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In the Furne edition "employaient" is replaced by "passaient" (*Fur.* 45+).

Seven omissions are made for the sake of concision and simplicity. For example, when Chapeloud moved into his apartment, Balzac tells us:

... tout le mobilier que le pauvre cha- noine <i>put</i> d'abord y <i>mettre</i> , consistait en un lit, une table ... [<i>Mame</i> 288]	Pour tout mobilier, le pauvre chanoine y mit d'abord un lit, une table ... [<i>Béch.</i> 40+]
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Nouns are affected in one hundred and twenty-one of the variations now under consideration. The majority of these changes, seventy-six in number, occur in Furne. Forty-two nouns are involved in the Béchét corrections, but only three in the Conard text. Substitutions, the most frequent type of change, occur eighty-seven times in the three editions. Many of these are made to avoid repetitions; others are made in the effort to find the exact word. An imaginative expression may replace a general term, as when Mme de Listomère says to the Abbé Birotteau:

Cédez, comme je le fais à <i>ces circon-</i> <i>stances</i> ... [<i>Mame</i> 397]	Cédez, comme je le fais, à <i>cet orage</i> ... [<i>Béch.</i> 143+]
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Again a concrete and evocative noun takes the place of a vague one. Mlle Salomon says that in the cold, damp rectory of Saint-Symphorien, Birotteau

va se trouver enterré dans un <i>fond</i> ... [<i>Mame</i> 410]	va donc se trouver dans un <i>véritable</i> <i>sépulcre</i> . [<i>Béch.</i> 159+]
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Emphasis results from a number of the substitutions, such as "minuties" (*Béch.* 51+) for "petites choses" (*Mame* 300). Again, the substitution may be made for affective reasons, as in the following example, where

added details help to awaken our pity for the stricken Birotteau. The citation illustrates how small verbal alterations play their part in the evolution of Balzac's style:

Il était pâle et maigre. [Char. 103]

*Ce curé frappé par l'archevêque était
pâle et maigre.* [Fur. 61]

*Ce pauvre prêtre frappé par son Arche-
vêque était pâle et maigre.* [Con. 246]

Fully half the substitutions, however, are due to Balzac's desire for accuracy. For example, in the following phrase the italicized word replaces an original "richesse" (Char. 68): "combien la haine sut mettre de *nuances* dans l'accentuation de chaque mot" (Fur. 41+).

Other changes involving nouns are infrequent. Nouns are omitted ten times because they are not needed. They are added eighteen times in the interest of clear or precise expression.

Pronouns are involved in eighty-seven of the variations which Balzac introduced in the published texts. The most interesting changes are fifty cases of the substitution of nouns, both proper and common, for pronouns. Seven-tenths of these substituted nouns are found in the Furne edition, a factor which explains, in part, why the style in this edition tends to be more definite and concrete than that of the preceding volumes. A few examples chosen from the several texts follow.

One effective substitution is made in the funeral oration which Troubert delivered for Mlle Gamard. The style of such a sermon is cleverly suggested by the change from a pronoun to the Christian name of the old maid:

Heureux ceux qui peuvent reposer, ici-
bas, en paix avec eux-mêmes, comme
elle repose maintenant au séjour des
bienheureux dans sa robe d'innocence!
[Char. 99]

Heureux ceux qui peuvent reposer ici-
bas, en paix avec eux-mêmes, comme
Sophie repose maintenant au séjour
des bienheureux dans sa robe d'innocence!
[Fur. 59+]

Another change affects Troubert, who, en route to his diocese, passed along the quay of Saint-Symphorien. There he saw resting in the sun an old and ill man, Birotteau:

L'évêque *lui* lança un regard de mé-
pris et de pitié ... [Fur. 61]

L'Evêque lanca *sur sa victime* un re-
gard de mépris et de pitié ...

[Con. 246]

One further example will conclude our illustrations of this very frequent type of variation. In the case below, the substitution was no doubt made for the sake of emphasis. Mademoiselle is dying because of Birotteau's lawsuit, according to the gossips of Tours:

"Birotteau *la* tuait ..." [Char. 91] "Birotteau tuait *sa bienfaitrice* ..." [Fur. 54+]

Adjectives are added twenty-five times between the editions, while they are struck out eighteen times. There are thirty-eight cases of substitution. The changes are rather evenly distributed between the 1834 and 1843 texts. Twenty-one insertions add vividness or psychological intensity to the style. In the following example, familiar though the simile be, Birotteau's utter helplessness becomes more poignant in the revision because of the added adjective. In the struggle with Mlle Gamard:

... il devait succomber comme un agneau sous le coup du boucher. ... il devait succomber comme un agneau, sous le *premier* coup du boucher.
[Char. 54] [Fur. 32+]

Similarly, "un grain de poussière" becomes "un *seul* grain de poussière" (*Mame* 295; *Béch.* 46+). Omissions are made when the adjectives contribute nothing to the style (*Mame* 293; *Béch.* 44) or when they detract from the forcefulness of expression (*Mame* 336; *Béch.* 84). The substitutions are not especially significant. For example, "des choses du monde" becomes "mondaine" (*Char.* 23; *Fur.* 14+).

Adverbs are freely added from edition to edition. These small insertions add color and variety to the style. They may be run in with much effectiveness in surprising places, as, for example, in the contract between Mlle Gamard and Birotteau, where Balzac intercalates that the *abbé* was "surabondamment" unable to pay the usual price of the pension (*Mame* 377; *Béch.* 122). Omissions occur twenty-nine times. Unnecessary adverbs are struck out (*Mame* 286; *Béch.* 39+). There is, moreover, a tendency to omit *en effet* and *alors*. One-fourth of the omissions under discussion concern these two expressions and are typical of the uncertainty Balzac seems to have felt about connectives. In the next example the introductory phrase is struck out in *Béchet*: "*En effet*, la distribution intérieure et la contenance de sa maison n'avaient pas permis à mademoiselle Gamard d'avoir plus de deux pensionnaires ..." (*Mame* 286; *Béch.* 38+). In the same way the transitional "alors" is omitted in the following instance: "*alors*, il ne laissa s'établir ..." (*Mame* 307; *Béch.* 57+).

Substitutions involving adverbs are made twenty-seven times. About

a quarter of these again concern *alors*. In one instance we find Balzac hesitating about this troublesome little word from the manuscript through the Furne edition (1, 22; *Char.* 19; *Fur.* 12+). Another fourth of the substitutions were made for the sake of emphasis. For example, manifestations of Mlle Gamard's tyranny are said to occur not "souvent" (*Mame* 318) but "presque tous les soirs" (*Béch.* 67-68+). The substitution of adverbial phrases for adverbs is not, however, a frequent change between the editions. One case should be mentioned, since it shows Balzac wisely restoring the original phrase of the manuscript (1, 5). He is speaking of Mlle Gamard's house:

Quoique ce bien eût été acquis *nationalement*, pendant la terreur, par le père de mademoiselle Gamard ...

Quoique ce bien eût été acquis *de la nation*, pendant la Terreur, par le père de mademoiselle Gamard ... [*Fur.* 3+]

[*Char.* 4]

Between the editions of *Le Curé de Tours* Balzac made, in all, one hundred and fifteen changes involving adverbs. Additions are twice as frequent as substitutions or omissions. All types of changes, however, occur in almost equal proportions in the Béchét and the Furne texts.

Conjunctions figure more prominently than any other part of speech in the verbal corrections now under consideration. There are two hundred and fifty-four variants in this category. Conjunctions are added fifty-four times for smoothness or where structural changes demand them. The majority of the twenty-four cases of substitution are made to avoid repetitions. The omissions are due primarily to the shortening of sentences. We have seen that one hundred and forty-five sentences are reduced in length in the Béchét text alone. In ninety-nine of these cases conjunctions are eliminated. Some twenty to thirty further omissions are made in this text in the interest of concision. Except for the breaking-up of sentences, the omissions of conjunctions is, then, the most frequent correction made for the Béchét edition. The conjunction most often affected is *et*, which is eliminated fifty-four times. *Car* is dropped thirty-four times. Conjunctions are struck out in the Furne edition some thirty times. *Et* is omitted eight times; *car* three. Only one conjunction is deleted for the Conard edition. The total number of conjunctions omitted in all the editions is about one hundred and seventy-six.

Variations according to other parts of speech may be briefly recorded, since they do not affect the style perceptibly. Articles are involved in forty-three of these changes, negatives in six, and prepositions in twenty-one.

To summarize the analysis of the variations according to parts of speech, we find that Balzac made nine hundred and sixty-two verbal changes between the editions. Conjunctions are varied more often than any other part of speech. The omission of these connectives is, as we have seen, a feature of the Béchét corrections. After conjunctions the most frequent changes affect verbs. These variations, usually made in the interest of definiteness, are rather evenly distributed between the Béchét and Furne texts, in both of which substitutions predominate. However, nouns, the next largest category, are more often changed in the Furne text than in the earlier volume. The same is true for pronouns. Substitutions involving both nouns and pronouns are salient in the Furne corrections. Since the majority of these variants tend in the direction of the *mot propre* and of greater concreteness, the style of the 1843 volume is more exact than that of the preceding editions. Greater vividness and color are at times achieved by the variations in which adjectives and adverbs are concerned. The changes are fairly evenly distributed between the Béchét and the Furne texts. While adjectives are usually substituted, adverbs are more frequently inserted. We have already noted, both in the corrections for the proofs and in the *princeps*, this tendency on Balzac's part to run in adverbs.

Just as verbal changes predominate in the earlier corrections, so they outnumber all other changes between the editions. The importance of these small variants is not, however, their number but their effectiveness. Although Balzac has left a number of pedantic words in the final text of *Le Curé de Tours*, his corrections have eliminated others, notably "intus-susception"! His effort, from edition to edition, to find the exact word culminated in the concrete phraseology of the Furne, a style which must have pleased him, since he made so few changes in it for his proposed next edition. If Balzac's style in this little story has a certain vigor and strength, we may attribute much of this effect to the many careful verbal changes he made between the editions.

2. REALISTIC VARIATIONS (BETWEEN THE SEVERAL EDITIONS)

Let us now consider the realistic variations which Balzac introduced in his novel after the *princeps*. The most important editions for these changes are, of course, the Béchét, when the story was set in the *Scènes de la vie de province*, and the Furne, or first edition of the *Comédie humaine*. The Charpentier edition of 1839 was practically untouched, as we have said; and there are no realistic changes in the Conard. In studying these

editions the changes deriving from Balzac's general realistic qualities will be analyzed first; then those variations which are due to his fictional technique.

a) *General realistic qualities.*—We know that the first article in Balzac's credo as a novelist was the necessity for truth. This belief he reaffirms in a variation introduced in the Furne edition:

... *la vérité historique* oblige-t-elle à ... *la vérité, si essentielle dans une his-*
dire ... [Char. 2] *toire de mœurs* oblige à dire ...

[Fur. 2+]

Later in the Furne text he adds further: "... cette histoire est de tous les temps" (Char. 24; Fur. 15+). Many variations are due to his painstaking efforts to realize this ideal of universal truth.

One way in which Balzac creates his impression of reality is by accuracy of statement. Thus he changes a reference to Saint-Gatien as "cette église" (Mame 287) to "la cathédrale" (Béch. 39+). Birotteau's "instant de désespoir" (Mame 376) when he learns that his rival has been chosen for the long-coveted canonship is more truthfully characterized in Béchet as a "commencement d'aliénation mentale" (Béch. 120+). Truth also obliges Balzac to add that it was not entirely a sense of the justice of the Abbé Birotteau's cause which led the vicar's friends to move unhurriedly in his defense:

Les amis du vicaire, animés par le sentiment que donne la justice d'une bonne cause, ayant remis le commencement de l'instance au jour où ils reviendraient à Tours, avaient laissé prendre les devans aux amis de mademoiselle Gamard ...

[Mame 387]

Les amis du vicaire, animés par le sentiment que donne la justice d'une bonne cause, *ou paresseux pour un procès qui ne leur était pas personnel*, avaient remis le commencement de l'instance au jour où ils reviendraient à Tours. Les amis de mademoiselle Gamard purent donc prendre les devans ...

[Béch. 130-31+]

It is for actuality's sake, no doubt, that Balzac changes the rank aspired to by "le lieutenant de vaisseau" from "capitaine de frégate" (Char. 82) to "capitaine de corvette" (Fur. 49+), since the former was the higher command.⁷⁸

We have seen above (pp. 229-31) that the time-intervals in the story are not entirely accurate and that Balzac made a few changes which tend to harmonize them. We have referred to the substitution in Furne of "deux ans" for "douze mois" to straighten out the length of time that the Abbé

⁷⁸ *Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, s.d.), XII, 1122.

Birotteau has occupied Chapeloud's apartment. With a two-year period in mind, Balzac alters a passage (*Char.* 49) describing the *abbé's* relations with Mlle Gamard to include the phrase "une trame ourdie depuis six mois" (*Fur.* 30+). The allusion to a plot laid six months earlier is consistent with the assertion that Mlle Gamard's persecution of Birotteau began eighteen months after his coming to lodge with her, but is at variance with the statement that her ill-treatment of him has been going on "depuis environ trois mois" (*Con.* 180) when the story opens.

For the sake of probability Balzac continues to make corrections which lengthen the time of the denouement of the story. Consequently, we find the following change:

Ce n'était plus que le squelette du Birotteau qui roulait, <i>dix mois</i> auparavant, si vide, mais si content, à travers le cloître. [<i>Char.</i> 103]	Ce n'était plus que le squelette du Birotteau qui roulait, <i>un an</i> auparavant, si vide mais si content, à travers le cloître. [<i>Fur.</i> 61+]
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Likewise Mlle Gamard's death is postponed a few hours longer after Mme de Listomère's call:

Madame de Listomère apprit <i>dans la soirée</i> la mort de mademoiselle Gamard. [<i>Char.</i> 98]	Madame de Listomère apprit <i>le lendemain</i> la mort de mademoiselle Gamard. [<i>Fur.</i> 58+]
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One allusion to time in the story is never very clear; and when, in Béchet, Balzac changes the date of the opening of the novel from 1824 to 1826 (see below, p. 261), the reference becomes even more obscure. Throughout all versions of our text Chapeloud occupies his apartment for twelve years, and Birotteau is in his second year of residence in the same rooms (1, 5+). However, the following statements, with slight variations, run through the story from the manuscript to the definitive edition: "Quand Napoléon rétablit le culte catholique, l'abbé Chaplout fut nommé chanoine de St-Gatien et Birotteau, devint vicaire de l'Eglise. Alors, Chaplout se mit chez Mademoiselle Gamard ..." (1, 6+).⁷⁹ If Balzac refers to the Concordat of 1801, that year should be the date of Chapeloud's coming to Mlle Gamard's—not 1810, as in the first, or 1812, as in the later, editions of the story. There may be an explanation, however, for this discrepancy, because in nine of the *brouillons*⁸⁰ the story begins in 1816. In the early pages of his manuscript Balzac may have had this date

⁷⁹ See *Con.* 173 for the definitive text.

⁸⁰ S. 26, 28, 30, 34, and *MS* 15, 17, 19, 21—all false starts entitled *La Vieille Fille*; S. 27, *Le Prêtre catholique*, p. 1.

in mind when he traced the fourteen-year background of the Abbé Birotteau's "concupiscence mobilière," and he may have thought of Chapeloud as coming to lodge with Mlle Gamard in 1802. Farther along in the manuscript, however, Balzac placed the action of the story in 1824 (1, 48). Perhaps, at the time, he had forgotten his earlier reference to the reopening of the churches and so did not change it, a slip which he never later corrected.

Balzac's propensity to increase fortunes is illustrated in one change between the editions. In this case he suggests greater wealth for M. de Bourbonne:

Il avait su arrondir les prairies de sa terre aux dépens des laisses de la Loire en évitant tout procès avec le domaine de l'Etat.	Il avait su arrondir les prairies d'un de ses domaines aux dépens des lais de la Loire en évitant tout procès avec l'Etat.
[Char. 58]	[Fur. 34+]

In one instance a sum of money is omitted. Originally (1, 77), Troubert, having inherited Mlle Gamard's fortune, "donna la bibliothèque et les livres de Chapeloud au petit séminaire, en y joignant un capital de cent mille francs" (Char. 102). In the Furne edition the newly elected bishop gives only the bookcase and the books (Fur. 60+), probably because, as the "vieux malin" suspects, he is ambitious of being sent to the *Chambre haute* and so keeps the money in order to maintain his rank fittingly in Paris some day.⁸¹ There is only one other variation which concerns money, and that is an addition in the Furne text which tells us that the legacies left to Chapeloud by his "pieuses pénitentes" were not large (Char. 7; Fur. 5+).

There are two instances of increased figures. The number of victims who died by the guillotine during the Revolution is at first thought by Mlle Gamard and the vicar to have been "trois cent mille" (Mame 334). Later their number is "treize cent mille" (Béch. 82+). The length of the bridge that connects Tours and Saint-Symphorien is changed from "dix-sept cents pieds" (Char. 100) to "dix-neuf cents pieds" (Fur. 59+). Neither figure is exact, as the bridge is said to be 434 meters long.⁸²

In two cases numbers are omitted. In the first instance, however, Balzac suggests a larger, rather than a smaller, figure by the omission. He is speaking of the Abbé Birotteau:

... il était le confesseur de deux pensionnats de jeunes filles ...	... en sa qualité de confesseur des pensionnats de la ville ...
[Mame 305]	[Béch. 55+]

⁸¹ For Troubert's motives, see pp. 270-71.

⁸² *Grande Encyclopédie*, XXXI, 251.

In the second example Balzac has wisely struck out in the revision the precise number. Its very exactness seemed unnatural in the context. Having given up his apartment, the bewildered Birotteau exclaims:

—Où vais-je mettre tous mes meubles? —Où vais-je mettre tous mes meubles?
 ... et mes livres, ma belle bibliothèque, ... et mes livres, ma belle bibliothèque,
 mes *deux* beaux tableaux, mon salon mes beaux tableaux, mon salon rouge,
 rouge, enfin tout mon mobilier? enfin tout mon mobilier! [*Fur.* 37+]

[*Char.* 62-63]

Balzac's "encyclopedic zeal" often led him to introduce digressions of a technical or semitechnical nature. Sometimes the inserted material is merely cumulative information. The example below shows how the author amplifies a simple statement of fact with additional lore:

Il existe dans le cloître un passage qui aboutit à la grande rue. [*Mame* 283] *Jadis, existait dans le cloître, du côté de la Grande-Rue, plusieurs maisons réunies par une clôture, appartenant à la Cathédrale et où logeaient quelques dignitaires du chapitre. Depuis l'aliénation des biens du clergé, la ville a fait du passage qui séparait ces maisons une rue, nommée rue de la Psalette, par laquelle on va du cloître dans la Grande-Rue. Ce nom indique suffisamment que là demeurait autrefois le grand Chantre, ses écoles et ceux qui vivaient sous sa dépendance.* [*Béch.* 35-36+]

Of a semitechnical nature is a semantic digression introduced to explain a dialectical word. The persecuted Abbé Birotteau speaks of himself as a "bourrier de la rue." "Ce mot Tourangeau," adds Balzac, "n'a point d'équivalent, et ne peut être traduit que par le mot *brin de paille*"⁸³ (*Mame* 398+). In Béchet, Balzac adds: "Mais il y a de jolis petits brins de paille, jaunes, polis, rayonnans, qui font le bonheur des enfans: tandis que le bourrier est le brin de paille décoloré, boueux, roulé dans les ruisseaux, chassé par la tempête, tordu par les pieds du passant" (*Béch.* 144+). The use of this word peculiar to the milieu is characteristic of Balzac and may be cited as an example of one way in which he sought to introduce local color in his stories.

The skill with which Balzac fitted the many parts of the *Comédie humaine* together is well known. Five variations illustrating this solidifying

⁸³ The italics are in the text.

technique occur between the editions of our novel. Three concern time. The two others introduce a reappearing character.

We have seen (cf. above, p. 258) that Balzac changed the time of the action of the novel from 1824 to 1826 (*Mame* 334; *Béch.* 82+). In the Furne edition he emphasizes the latter date by inserting it in the first line of the story (*Fur.* 1+). This time-change he probably made in order to interlock *Louis Lambert* and *Le Curé de Tours* more carefully than he had done in the 1832 versions of the novels. A later substitution concerning time seems to justify this conclusion. The action of *Louis Lambert* takes place from 1812 to 1824. In the first edition⁸⁴ Balzac establishes the date 1820 as the time when Louis Lambert first met Mlle Salomon, and then continues: "Mademoiselle de Villenoix avait alors vingt ans, et sa beauté remarquable, les grâces de son esprit, étaient pour sa félicité des garanties moins équivoques que toutes celles que donne la fortune."⁸⁵ The author tells us later that "Lambert mourut à l'âge de vingt-huit ans, le 25 septembre, 1824."⁸⁶ Now, originally in our novel Mlle Salomon was in 1824, as we learned from her *dossier*, a much older woman than she is in *Louis Lambert*. In the first edition of our story she is said to have consecrated twenty years of her life to the "bonheur mécanique" of Louis Lambert (*Mame* 369). As has been suggested above (see p. 233; also n. 59, p. 234), when our novel appeared in May, 1832, Balzac probably had not completely thought out Mlle Salomon's role in *Louis Lambert*, which appeared, dated "June-July 1832," in October of that year.⁸⁷ After the first edition of *Louis Lambert* he made what changes he could in *Le Curé de Tours* to make Pauline de Villenoix consistent in the two stories. In the Béchet edition he therefore makes the following substitution concerning the length of time she devoted herself to her ill-fated lover: "Pendant cinq années, elle s'était, avec le courage de l'amour, consacrée au bonheur mécanique de ce malheureux, dont elle avait si bien épousé la

⁸⁴ According to Lov., *Hist.*, p. 190, the novel was first published in October, 1832, by Charles Gosselin in *Nouveaux Contes philosophiques* under the title: *Notice biographique sur Louis Lambert*.

⁸⁵ *Notice biographique sur Louis Lambert*, p. 365; for the other details concerning the meeting of Louis Lambert and Mlle Salomon, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 359, 361, 362.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 425. The statements from *Louis Lambert* are found in all the editions of that novel which cover the period of publication for *Le Curé de Tours*, through the Furne. Lovenjoul (*Histoire des œuvres*, p. 190) lists these editions after the first as follows: Gosselin, 1833; Werdet, 1835; Charpentier, 1842.

⁸⁷ Lov., *Hist.*, p. 190.

folie qu'elle ne le croyait point fou" (*Béch.* 114+). This change makes her age tally in the two novels. The earlier change of setting the action of our novel forward two years makes more plausible Mlle Salomon's well-established position in Tours, since it is stated that she came to that city "après avoir perdu le compagnon de sa vie" (*Béch.* 115+). By means of these time-changes Balzac has thus harmonized more accurately the part played by Mlle Salomon in the two novels and has once more added to that impression of substantial reality which the *Comédie humaine* creates.

If Mlle Salomon's role as a reappearing character evolves slowly, that of Troubert seems to have been the invention of a moment. Up to the publication of the *Comédie humaine* Troubert's see is not given; he is spoken of merely as "Monseigneur Hyacinthe évêque de ..." (*Char.* 101, 102-3). In the Furne edition he becomes the "évêque de Troyes" (*Fur.* 60+, 61+). In a later novel, *Le Député d'Arcis*, Troubert reappears as the Bishop of Troyes. The interesting thing about this fact is that at the very time Balzac was getting Volume VI of the *Comédie humaine* ready for publication he was also working on *Le Député d'Arcis*. He writes Mme Hanska under the date of March 2, 1843: "Après m'être élancé à corps perdu dans *le Député d'Arcis*, voici le libraire qui ne veut pas de politique."⁸⁸ He then mentions almost immediately *Le Curé de Tours* as part of the sixth volume of the *Comédie humaine* (see above, p. 194). However, since Balzac wrote only the first seventeen chapters of *Le Député d'Arcis*,⁸⁹ one might question whether he or Charles Rabou, who finished the story for book form,⁹⁰ introduced Troubert in the novel. Conclusive proof that Balzac did so is found in the Conard edition, which publishes only Balzac's part of the story. The text of *Le Député d'Arcis* in this edition is based on that of the *Union monarchique*, in which Balzac's seventeen chapters first appeared from April 7 to May 3, 1847,⁹¹ and on the manuscript in the Lovenjoul Collection.⁹² In the Conard, Troubert appears as "Monseigneur Hyacinthe, évêque de Troyes."⁹³ All the evidence seems to justify our conclusion, then, that Troubert's role as a reappearing character is due to the fact that Balzac was working on the two stories at about the same time and swiftly interlocked them by means of the wily Congréganiste.

⁸⁸ *LEt.*, II, 119-20.

⁸⁹ *Lov.*, *Hist.*, p. 155.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* The volume was published in 1854 by L. de Potter.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Con.* XXI, 445; *Lov. Coll.*, A 55.

⁹³ *Con.* XXI, 367.

There are between the various editions of *Le Curé de Tours* thirty-two variations which illustrate Balzac's sociological bent. The definitive title with its emphasis on type and milieu was chosen, we know, for the *Comédie humaine* edition. Having changed his title, Balzac inserts in *Fur* the phrase that the Abbé Birotteau is "le principal personnage de cette histoire" (*Fur*. 1+), though he in no way at this time decreases the importance of the other *célibataires* in the story. He does, however, increase the references to the smallness and meanness of life in a provincial city, thus further justifying his inclusion of the name of Tours in the new title.

The small-town intrigue which we are witnessing becomes even more nefarious in the variations. For example, when the Liberal lawyer undertook Birotteau's case, the writ which he drew up against Mlle Gamard condemned her so clearly that

trente ou quarante copies en furent faites, et coururent par toute la ville.	trente ou quarante copies en furent méchamment distribuées dans la ville.
[<i>Mame</i> 392]	[<i>Béch.</i> 135+]

Between the first and second editions Balzac emphasizes the jealousy of Mlle Gamard's set who, he adds in Béchet, regards "comme ennemis" the salons frequented by the aristocrats (*Béch.* 129+). We already know that Mlle Gamard's friends are less important socially than Birotteau's; hence the insistence on their hostility as a group to the aristocrats darkens the picture Balzac is painting. The ease with which the rest of the town picked up the gossip and animosity of the bourgeois circle is stressed. Mlle Gamard's friends say Birotteau is killing her. The town "obligingly" repeats the news (*Mame* 400; *Béch.* 147+). The jealousy of the Tourangeaux receives an added touch, as we have seen. An insertion in Béchet stresses the large number of M. de Bourbonne's fellow-townsmen who are envious of him (*Mame* 359-60; *Béch.* 106+).

The generalizations introduced by Balzac in the later versions of *Le Curé de Tours* are of a broad scope and tend to sum up his social philosophy on the types and the scene he is depicting. For example, several insertions emphasize the difference between the provincial priest and people of the world. A man of social experience would never have been "clawed" twice in Mlle Gamard's catlike maneuvers (*Mame* 302; *Béch.* 53+). Balzac adds later in Béchet: "... les yeux du bon vicaire n'étaient jamais à ce point d'optique qui permet aux gens du monde de voir et d'éviter si promptement les aspérités du voisin ..." (*Mame* 317; *Béch.* 67+). The increased dangers of celibacy in contemporary society are stressed by an addition:

Mais le célibat a, pour les célibataires et pour la société, ce vice capital que, concentrant les qualités de l'homme sur une seule passion, l'égoïsme, elle les rend ou nuisibles ou inutiles.

[*Mame* 412-13]

Mais aujourd'hui que l'Eglise n'est plus une puissance politique, et n'absorbe plus les forces des gens solitaires, le célibat a, pour la société, ce vice capital que, faisant converger les qualités de l'homme sur une seule passion, l'égoïsme, il rend les célibataires ou nuisibles ou inutiles.

[*Béch.* 162+]

Le Curé de Tours ends today with a long passage on the struggle between man and society.⁹⁴ This sociophilosophic disquisition was added to the novel for the first time in the Béchet edition (pp. 162-64+); that is, well after Balzac had finished his story. The passage is both obscure and tedious, but as an example of Balzac's tendency to sum up and to generalize on his particular types and scenes it is an interesting variation. This use of generalizations as a sort of "cohesive philosophy" to bind together his social order is one of the author's most characteristic solidifying devices.

A group of variations concerning the Congrégation illustrates Balzac's close linking of the real world and his own. The Congrégation's power under Charles X, who was himself a member of the organization, was great.⁹⁵ Thus, in our story Troubert turns out to be "l'homme le plus important de la province" because he is the representative of this politico-religious society in this region. Troubert's authority is increased in the variations; this is in accordance with Balzac's tendency to expand the scope and power of certain of his characters. The secret agent's prestige is well defined in the following addition, which was inserted as a whole in Béchet:

La position du chanoine au milieu du sénat femelle qui faisait si subtilement la police,⁹⁶ de la province, et sa capacité personnelle l'avaient fait choisir par la congrégation, entre tous les ecclésiastiques de la ville, pour être le proconsul inconnu de la Touraine: l'archevêque, le général, le préfet, grands et petits, étaient sous son occulte domination.

[*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 138+]

Another addition stresses the fact that "les plus chères espérances de la famille de Listomère" (*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 139+) are dependent on the Congrégation, because if Troubert is not appeased the marquis will not be made a peer, nor will the nephew become a captain. But the family bows, recognizing—another insertion tells us—"le pouvoir occulte de la

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 247, l. 2, to end of story, p. 248.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 585 (notes).

⁹⁶ The comma here is obviously an error.

Congrégation" (*Mame* 400; *Béch.* 146+). The social reaction to the society's hidden power is emphasized in an addition in which "le vieux malin" counsels Mme de Listomère to guard well Troubert's secret:

—*Madame, ... oubliez que j'ai deviné l'invisible influence de ce prêtre, et j'oublierai que vous la connaissez également. Si nous ne nous gardions pas le secret, nous passerions pour ses complices; nous serions redoutés et haïs. Imitez-moi: feignez d'être dupe; mais sachez bien où vous mettez les pieds.*

[*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 140+]

Fear of the Congrégation dominates all circles. Justice itself is endangered, as M. de Bourbonne well knows when he urges Birotteau, in another passage, not to sue Troubert's friend: "—Excepté l'avoué des Libéraux, je ne connais, à Tours, aucun homme de chicane qui voulût⁹⁷ se charger de ce procès *sans avoir l'intention de vous le faire perdre*, ... et je ne vous conseille pas de vous y embarquer" (*Char.* 79; *Fur.* 47+). The italicized phrase is an insertion in the Furne text.

There are, in all, eight changes—mostly additions—in this group. In every case the variants stress the power of the Congrégation, either linking it more clearly with the fate of individuals or emphasizing its broader social implications, its church and state ramifications, and its psychological and moral effect upon the society of the day.

In one other instance, however, the Congrégation is replaced by an important office of the king's household. The Marquis of Listomère inquires of the Minister of the Marine why his young nephew is to be retired. In reporting this conversation to his nephew the uncle says that the minister has accused the young man of being at the head of the Liberals of Tours and of not following the line of the government. He continues:

Son Excellence a fini par m'avouer que	Son Excellence a fini par m'avouer que
tu étais mal avec la Congrégation.	tu étais mal avec la Grande-Aumône-

[*Char.* 83] *rie.*

[*Fur.* 49+]

Since the marquis goes on immediately to say, "Bref, en demandant quelques renseignements à mes collègues, j'ai su que tu parlais fort légèrement d'un certain abbé Troubert ..." (*Fur.* 49+), and since he commands his nephew to make his peace with Troubert at once, it may be that the substitution was made to extend the range of Troubert's influence to the court itself. Certainly the allusion to the office of the *grand aumônier* adds to the impression of actuality in the young baron's situation, since the incumbent in 1826 is known to have been particularly zealous.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The Charpentier edition reads "veuille."

⁹⁸ E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France* (Paris: Hachette, 1921), IV, 245.

One single variation of a purely political nature occurs: this is an allusion to "l'Opposition," which is added in Furne (48+).

Just as men in the real world are compared to historical figures, so in Balzac the social types are epitomized in such comparisons. Up to the Furne edition Troubert is likened to "Philippe II ou Richelieu" (*Char.* 103); in the 1843 edition Balzac says of him: "Nul doute que Troubert n'eût été en d'autres temps *Hildebrandt ou Alexandre VI*" (*Fur.* 61+). The new comparisons keep Troubert more within his own domain, of course, and perhaps symbolize his strength and pitilessness. One wonders, however, if, by substituting the two popes for the fanatically religious Philip and the powerful prime minister, Balzac was answering Sainte-Beuve's criticism of the projection of Troubert to the stature of a Richelieu. In November, 1834, Sainte-Beuve had written: "Son chanoine Troubert se grossit et s'exagère vers la fin au point de nous être donné comme un petit Richelieu."⁹⁹ Whatever Balzac's reason for this change, it is interesting to observe that it is the only one of its kind which he makes for the Furne edition. Equally exaggerated comparisons in the very last sentence of the story, a sentence added in Béchét, are not touched: "L'histoire des Innocent III, des Pierre-le-Grand, et de tous les meneurs de siècles prouverait au besoin, dans un ordre très élevé, cette immense pensée que Troubert représentait petitement au fond du cloître Saint-Gatien" (*Béch.* 164+).

The most important realistic variations which Balzac made in revising *Le Curé de Tours* are the sociological changes. Allusions to contemporary organizations are multiplied. In the Béchét edition particularly, the variants set in relief the popular conception of the Congrégation, which was currently credited with great political influence and even a "pouvoir mystérieux" under the government of Charles X. In the Furne a reference to another contemporary institution, the *grande aumônerie*, brings out further the prestige of the "parti-prêtre" under Charles and thus strengthens the impression of actuality in the story. In the Béchét text a number of changes emphasize the pettiness and mediocrity of life in the provinces, a favorite Balzacian subject. Larger generalizations in the same edition develop the theme of the celibate in contemporary society and that of man in the modern world.

Next in importance are those changes which fit *Le Curé de Tours* into the Balzacian world. There are only five such variations, two of which occur in Béchét, and three in Furne. Although the changes in themselves

⁹⁹ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits contemporains*, II, 343.

are small, they link effectively both characters and action into Balzac's interlocking scheme and thus contribute to the solidity of the *Comédie humaine*.

As regards truth, thirteen variations illustrate Balzac's effort to bring his story closer to the real world. About half of these alterations are made to secure greater accuracy of expression; two concern truth as an ideal in the novel, and the rest have to do with the actual time of the story. The principal change involving time, that of shifting the action of the story from 1824 to 1826, occurs in Béchet. The other variations made in the interest of truth are slight and are three times as frequent in the Furne text as in the Béchet.

Balzac's penchant for materialism is illustrated in about a dozen changes, but there is no tendency to increase greatly either figures or sums of money. The only exaggeration, that of the number of persons who were guillotined during the Revolution, is justified by the context, since it is the Abbé Birotteau and Mlle Gamard who raise the total figure in their own imaginations. This particular change is found in the Béchet text, but most of the other variants in this category were made for the Furne.

Finally, two short documentary digressions were inserted, illustrating another of Balzac's most prominent realistic traits. Both additions were made in the Béchet text.

This analysis shows that the most important changes took place, then, when our story was set in the framework of the provincial scenes (1834). As we should expect, the sociological variations are outstanding in this edition. Variations concerning truth and solidity are more numerous in the Furne. As regards solidity, however, the changes in Béchet are more significant. On the other hand, Balzac's tendency toward materialism is more manifest in Furne.

b) *Technical elements*.—No important change in plot is made in *Le Curé de Tours* in its published versions, but the composition is slightly affected by additions which are inserted in the Béchet text. Some of these are used for purposes of anticipation; others explain and sum up action. Interpolations of a different kind which date from the 1834 edition are found in the celebrated duel of words. Here italicized remarks in parentheses show us what the characters are really thinking while they are saying something quite different (see above, p. 246). Let us now consider these changes from the point of view of composition.

Two solid blocks of material are inserted. One of these is the passage on the individual and society which was added at the end of the story

(*Béch.* 162-63+). From the point of view of composition the passage detracts from, rather than adds to, the novel. Balzac may have thought that his story ended abruptly. It now ends tediously and no more logically. The other passage (*Béch.* 138-42+)¹⁰⁰ is a combination of narration and dialogue which is used to point up the scene in Paris between the Baron de Listomère and his uncle and to anticipate the maneuvers which the Listomères make in Tours to outwit Troubert. This insertion marks an improvement in the composition, since it suggests a necessary passage of time and forms a logically built-up transition between episodes widely separated in time and place. In the *princeps* these episodes had been set apart merely by a short clause.

At times, additions may be used to sum up the action: "Ainsi les instructions de M. de Bourbonne étaient sagement exécutées" (*Mame* 400; *Béch.* 146+). Other insertions exemplifying this use are found on pages 100-101+, 145-46+, and 161+ of the Béchét text.

The most important addition is that of the series of unspoken thoughts inserted in the *duel de paroles*. From the point of view of composition, this masked dialogue enables Balzac to give us in quick and dramatic fashion, and without further comment, the psychological accompaniment of the battle of wits that is taking place. He also uses the device once for action: Troubert's decision to accept the overtures of the Listomères. In this instance the author omits a longer explanation of that same decision:

... il est probable que des raisons préremptaires le décidèrent, pendant le débat, à se faire de la famille de Listomère plutôt une alliée qu'une ennemie.

[*Mame* 405]

—La vieille fille va crever, j'entamerai les Listomère, et les servirai, s'ils me servent! pensait-il. Il vaut mieux les avoir pour amis que pour ennemis.¹⁰¹

[*Béch.* 155+]

The quick, concise "thought" is better composition than the slow-moving explanation, and would be so even if stylistically the explanation were less involved, because the thought gives the terms on which Troubert accepted a peace pact with the Listomères. These terms we recall at the turn of the screw, when Troubert a second time threatened the career of the young Baron de Listomère. At this point Balzac inserts the following explanation: "*L'ambitieux marin vint le voir, et le prêtre implacable lui dicta sans doute de dures conditions; car la conduite du baron attesta le plus entier dévouement aux volontés du terrible congréganiste*" (*Mame* 410; *Béch.* 180+). After the interview with the new Bishop of Troyes the lieutenant

¹⁰⁰ *Con.*, p. 232, l. 14 to p. 235, l. 4.

¹⁰¹ The italics are in the text.

contested his aunt's legacy to Birotteau, and "*Quelques jours après l'exploit introductif d'instance*, le baron fut nommé capitaine de vaisseau" (*Béch.* 161+). The italicized phrase replaced the conjunction "mais" (*Mame* 410).

From the point of view of plot and composition, these changes are not of great importance. They are, however, interesting examples of Balzac's method of correction.

From edition to edition of our story Balzac makes many small changes which tend to touch up his characters. There are no new *dossiers*, but details and incidents are added which emphasize the *faculté maîtresse* of the individuals. Generalizations may be introduced which serve to stress the type and profession of the character. For example, after telling us that the two great concerns of Birotteau's life are his desire to be made a canon and his yearning to live in Mlle Gamard's comfortable boarding-house, Balzac adds in Béchet:

... et peut-être résument-elles [ces deux grandes affaires] exactement l'ambition d'un prêtre, qui, se considérant comme en voyage vers l'éternité, ne peut souhaiter en ce monde qu'un bon gîte, une bonne table, des vêtemens propres, des souliers à agrafes d'argent pour satisfaire les besoins de la bête, et un canonat pour calmer les impatiences de l'amour-propre. [Mame 286; *Béch.* 38+]

The self-indulgence of both Birotteau and Chapeloud is further stressed. More is made of Birotteau's pleasure in lying in bed while his room grows warm in the mornings (*Mame* 323; *Béch.* 72+), for the vicar was not a man to rise without a fire. Chapeloud, who takes his breakfast coffee in bed, likes it *à la crème*, we are told in Furne (12+).

Emphasis is laid on Chapeloud's ingratiating personality. He is called instead of merely "l'abbé" (*Char.* 8), "cet homme aimable" (*Fur.* 5+). On the other hand, his egotism is stressed:

L'abbé Chapeloud, <i>homme franc</i> , aimable et indulgent ...	[<i>Char.</i> 9]	L'abbé Chapeloud, <i>égoïste</i> aimable et indulgent ...	[<i>Fur.</i> 6+]
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Chapeloud's adroitness in handling Mlle Gamard is played up. For his own comfort he accords her only certain courtesies, but in these he knows he must be "plus infaillible que n'est le pape" (*Char.* 20; *Fur.* 12+). This phrase, added in 1843, is an interesting example of Balzac's effort to make his characters speak and think according to their profession.

If Chapeloud's wiles are emphasized, it is Birotteau's family trait of naïveté and even his *niaiserie* which are stressed. His face expresses a "bonhomie sans idées" (*Mame* 325; *Béch.* 74+). He remarks *niaisement*

of Troubert: "Je ne sais pas à quoi lui sert de passer les nuits!" (*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 138+). "Un homme du monde" would have known at once that Mlle Gamard was persecuting him with sadistic pleasure. Not so the "bon Birotteau," who had to be hurt by a series of successive scratches in the face "avant de croire à une intention méchante" (*Mame* 302; *Béch.* 53+). In one instance Balzac omits a reference to the vicar's naïveté and simplicity, probably because it is a repetition of the idea contained in the addition to Béchét last mentioned. The following statement does not occur after the *princeps*: "Or, comme le pauvre prêtre avait un grand fonds d'indulgence, les piqures d'épingle par lesquelles mademoiselle Gamard commença l'attaque ne l'atteignirent pas tout d'abord ..." (*Mame* 321). His innocence and simple goodness are brought out in the scene in which Mme de Listomère reveals to him Troubert's malevolence and power. Balzac inserts after her explanation: "*L'innocent Birotteau joignit ses mains comme pour prier, et pleura de chagrin à l'aspect d'horreurs humaines que son âme pure n'avait jamais soupçonnées*" (*Mame* 396; *Béch.* 143+). A number of variations bring out his weakness. After the first edition Mme de Listomère is made to say to Troubert: "Birotteau, dont vous devez connaître le caractère faible ..." (*Mame* 404; *Béch.* 153+). He is spoken of as "la plus faible de toutes les victimes" (*Mame* 411; *Béch.* 161+).

We learn more of Troubert's power, of his vanity, and of his vengeful spirit. He is spoken of as "le terrible congréganiste" (*Mame* 410; *Béch.* 160+). M. de Bourbonne advises the Listomères to withdraw their support of Birotteau's lawsuit; if the vicar should win, it would be too late to make peace with Troubert: "Il peut encore vous pardonner d'avoir entamé le combat; mais, après une défaite, il serait implacable" (*Char.* 87; *Fur.* 51+).¹⁰² In another addition Troubert is called "le prêtre implacable" (*Mame* 410; *Béch.* 160+), and Balzac inserts a passage to stress the furious hatred and vindictiveness of this strong-willed churchman:

Furieux d'avoir été joué par une femme à laquelle il avait donné la main tandis qu'elle tendait secrètement la sienne à un homme qu'il regardait comme son ennemi, Troubert menaça de nouveau l'avenir du baron et la pairie du marquis de Listomère. Il dit en plein assemblée, dans le salon de l'archevêque, un de ces mots ecclésiastiques, gros de vengeance et pleins de mielleuse mansuétude. [*Mame* 410; *Béch.* 160+]

Troubert gives to Saint-Gatien the property he has inherited from Mlle Gamard, but not for reasons of piety. Birotteau is placed under an interdict, and Balzac explains in an addition: "*Si Monseigneur Troubert*

¹⁰² The sentence, as a whole, is an addition in Béchét. "Vous" and "d'avoir entamé le combat" were added in Furne.

avait conservé la succession de la vieille fille, il lui eût été difficile de faire censurer Birotteau" (Mame 412; Béch. 161+).

M. de Bourbonne suspects, an addition tells us, that Troubert's vanity may be even greater than his hatred: "*Pliez devant Troubert: si sa haine est moins forte que sa vanité, vous vous en ferez un allié; mais si vous pliez trop, il vous marchera sur le ventre*" (Mame 395; Béch. 140-41+). A number of additions in Béchet develop the vanity of Troubert. One amusing phrase suggests his colossal self-esteem. When Mme de Listomère comes to call, he makes the baroness wait, and then: "... il consentit à lui donner audience" (Mame 401; Béch. 147+). He makes Mme de Listomère tell him why she has come to him with Birotteau's nonsuit, not because he does not know, but because, an insertion tells us, the vengeful priest is "*excité par un sentiment analogue à celui qui pousse une femme à se faire répéter des compliments*" (Mame 404; Béch. 153+). We even learn in these additions that Troubert has a characteristic gesture. M. de Bourbonne tells Mme de Listomère: "*S'il se caresse le menton, vous l'aurez séduit*" (Mame 401; Béch. 148+). When the baroness invites the canon to her salon, Balzac inserts: "*Troubert se caressa le menton. — Il est pris! Bourbonne avait raison, pensait-elle, il a sa dose de vanité!*"¹⁰³ (Mame 405; Béch. 154+). And Balzac adds: "*— En effet, le grand-vicaire éprouvait en ce moment la sensation délicieuse contre laquelle Mirabeau ne savait pas se défendre, quand, aux jours de sa puissance, il voyait ouvrir devant sa voiture la porte cochère d'un hôtel autrefois fermé pour lui*" (Mame 405; Béch. 155+).

A few touches are added to the portrait of Mme de Listomère. Balzac inserts in her dossier that she is "*bonne, mais un peu raide; légèrement nasillarde ...*" (Mame 357; Béch. 104+). In her verbal duel with Troubert, one of her "thoughts" tells us what she thinks of herself. When she remarks that she takes little interest now in Birotteau, Troubert interrupts by reminding her that the vicar is, after all, her *pensionnaire*. She replies: "*— Non, monsieur, il n'est plus chez moi. — La pairie de mon beau-frère et le grade de mon neveu, me font faire bien des lâchetés, pensait-elle*" (Mame 403; Béch. 152+). But family solidarity is a characteristic of the Listomères, and Mme de Listomère's remark emphasizes her adherence to the family code.

M. de Bourbonne's quick insight is again stressed by means of his *tic*. Having shown the Listomères how to placate Troubert, he adds: "*J'ai dit. Et il fait claquer sa tabatière*" (Mame 395; Béch. 142+). The wiliness

¹⁰³ These italics are in the text.

of the old gentleman is brought out when we are told in Béchét that, wishing to know what the Baron de Listomère had learned in Paris, "*Le vieux malin n'avait prématurément cherché sa canne et son chapeau que pour se faire dire à l'oreille: —Restez, nous avons à causer*" (*Mame* 395; *Béch.* 139+).

Descriptions both of people and of the milieu are built up by means of added detail as our story progresses from edition to edition. Mlle Gamard's lean rigidity is emphasized by the fact that her dress is too tight (*Char.* 44; *Fur.* 27+). Just as her nose reveals the despotism of her ideas, Balzac adds in Béchét that the flatness of her forehead betrays their narrowness: "... la forme *plate* de son front en trahissait l'étroitesse" (*Mame* 342; *Béch.* 89+). The adjective is an addition in Béchét.

The *salon jaune*, which is so expressive of the vindictive old maid's personality, is retouched. The furnishings are now listed in a typical Balzacian enumeration. Each new article suggests the keynote of the room:

Le salon commun où elle recevait était digne d'elle; il sera bientôt connu, en faisant observer qu'il se nommait le salon jaune, et qu'il y avait sur la cheminée des flambeaux et une pendule en cristal.

[*Mame* 343]

Le salon commun où elle recevait, était digne d'elle. Il sera bientôt connu en faisant observer qu'il se nommait le salon jaune; que les draperies en étaient jaunes, le meuble et la tenture jaunes; que sur la cheminée garnie d'une glace à cadre doré, des flambeaux et une pendule en cristal jetaient un éclat dur à l'œil.

[*Béch.* 91+]

The kinds of detail used by Balzac in his descriptions may differ greatly. A detail may be simply cumulative, as when Mlle Gamard's "chaise" (*Mame* 332) becomes a "chaise à patin" (*Béch.* 80+). Again, we are told that the jambs and lintel of Chapeloud's fireplace were made of badly carved stone. Balzac changes this description in *Furne* to read: "Les chambranles des cheminées en pierre mal sculptée n'avaient jamais été peints" (*Char.* 6; *Fur.* 5+). The detail may be merely additional. Balzac adds to the information concerning the length of the bridge of Tours a detail to suggest its beauty: "Ce pont, un des plus beaux monumens de l'architecture française, a dix-sept cents pieds de long ..." (*Mame* 409; *Béch.* 158+).

The causal detail is illustrated by one variation, an addition in Béchét. Tormented and harassed by Mlle Gamard, the Abbé Birotteau is so unhappy that his health is affected. It is not, however, until he realizes one

morning that his legs have grown much thinner that he decides to take some measures against her persecutions:

Un matin, en mettant ses bas bleus chinés, il reconnut une perte de huit lignes dans la circonférence de son mollet; stupéfait de ce diagnostic si cruellement irrécusable, il résolut de faire une tentative auprès de l'abbé Troubert, pour le prier d'intervenir officieusement entre mademoiselle Gamard et lui.

[*Mame* 349; *Béch.* 97+]

A variation illustrating Balzac's use of exact detail has been quoted above (p. 260) as an example of documentary digression. In this description Balzac accumulates historical and architectural details concerning the surroundings of Saint-Gatien.

To summarize the variations deriving from Balzac's narrative technique, now fully matured, we find that, numerically, those concerning characterization are the most important. Changes in description and detail are next in order of frequency, while alterations which pertain to composition are the least common.

As regards the composition, we have seen that it was not materially affected by the variations. It should be noted, though, that such changes as there are, were all made for the Béchét edition.

Eleven changes enrich descriptions both of the personages and of the milieu. In every case the method of revision is that of added detail. Again, it is the second edition of the story which is most affected by these variants, since nine of the changes are found in Béchét.

Balzac's preoccupation with characterization is evidenced by twenty-eight variants which he introduced in revising the editions of our story. Behind all these changes is the author's principle of harmonizing or key-noting a character. The variations are usually small inserted details which emphasize the dominant trait of the individual, though an occasional generalization may stress his type. Of these emendations, twenty-three were made in the Béchét edition, the rest in the Furne.

Our summary of the technical emendations shows us, first, that the variations in this category are, for the most part, short. The fact, however, that the changes are small is in itself significant, since it proves once more Balzac's infinite care in detail in every feature of his writing. We learn, in the second place, that, just as the majority of the changes deriving from his general realistic qualities were more significant in the Béchét volume, in like manner the variants considered specifically under his

technique are more important in this same text. Thus, of all the editions of *Le Curé de Tours*, the second is the most fruitful in examples of Balzac's realistic method as illustrated in his corrections.

III. CONCLUSION

The several texts of our story have yielded a host of variants. Although not all these changes are felicitous, the majority of them seem warranted. The style of the definitive edition of *Le Curé de Tours* is more correct, vigorous, and exact than that of the manuscript. Moreover, in accord with Balzac's realistic method, a number of variations introduced between the first and final versions have heightened the realism of the novel.

The variants are not difficult, except for the fact that there is such a plethora of them. Undue importance must not, of course, be attached to the mere number of changes, since in any given category the variations are never of equal importance. The numbers do, however, indicate the predominant trends in Balzac's corrections. Our problem has been to find what kinds of variations the author introduced most often in his revisions and to try to determine how effective these changes were. Let us now examine our results and endeavor to see with what concepts of his art Balzac was most concerned in his corrections.

The numerous stylistic variations attest to his desire to perfect his prose. From the manuscript to the definitive edition we have seen Balzac striving for greater simplicity. The number of sentences which he shortened is impressive. In the manuscript the sentences are strung together by means of conjunctions or simply by commas and dashes. Slowly, from the proofs through the editions, the sentences have become briefer and terser, though a few overlong ones have not been eliminated. Clauses, as well as sentences, tend almost always in the first *jet* to be involved and cumbersome. These, too, have been simplified through successive changes. However, Balzac's endeavor to lighten his style sometimes finds itself in conflict with his inclination to tell the whole truth and consequently to accumulate details. In such cases his realism almost always triumphs over his desire for restraint, and his sentences become dilated with serried bits of information.

In his corrections Balzac had recourse, as we have seen, to a number of rhetorical devices. Amplifications and additions have increased the clarity and accuracy of the style. By means of omissions and compressions he has made his prose more concise and also, usually, clearer. A number of

omissions were made to avoid redundancy. Transpositions within sentences were effected for the sake of clearness and for smoothness, and sometimes to produce a more pleasing combination of sounds. Figures of speech are not often affected in the variations. However, some of Balzac's most original and picturesque images were added in these corrections. The only important changes in dialogue were introduced in the Béchét text and have remained practically untouched since. These passages are interesting and move swiftly, proving Balzac's ability to invent dialogue. Speech-words were inserted for clearness and sometimes for dramatic effect. Rhetorical questions occurred infrequently in the variations, although Balzac was fond of inversions. An occasional new interjection or a repetition added intensity to his prose.

The changes involving the parts of speech were the most numerous in any revision. We have mentioned many times Balzac's search for the *mot propre*. Our study of the variations proves this trait to be the salient stylistic feature of his corrections for *Le Curé de Tours*. Verbs and conjunctions are more frequently affected than any other part of speech. As regards verbs, Balzac does not seem to have been always sure of himself, since his changes are at times restorations of earlier expressions. However, on the whole, the effort to find a forceful and exact verb is a strong objective in these revisions. The importance of conjunctions in the variants is due largely to Balzac's endeavor to shorten his sentences. Changes involving nouns are less numerous than those affecting verbs, probably because Balzac chose with greater ease concrete names to describe the men, women, and things he was depicting than he did the verbs with which he sought to show the interrelationship between "les personnes et la représentation matérielle qu'ils donnent de leur pensée." However, the variants in which nouns are concerned are sufficiently numerous to demonstrate Balzac's constant attention to this element of his prose and to prove that the effect of the exact, concrete noun in his style was not achieved without effort. The substitution of a noun for a pronoun is a very frequent change and again illustrates the author's bent for the concrete. This tendency is especially marked in the Furne edition, where the prose gains in exactness and concision from many small changes involving nouns and pronouns. This insistence on the exact word in the Furne indicates perhaps that definiteness and concreteness of style were increasingly important to Balzac. Of the other parts of speech which Balzac changed frequently in his various revisions, adverbs were most often affected. Adverbs were introduced principally for reasons of emphasis, color, and variety.

These minute changes involving the parts of speech contribute greatly to the vigor of the prose in *Le Curé de Tours*. The style of the story evolves slowly by means of literally thousands of corrections, but it gains through the years both in directness and in vividness. The general principle behind all the stylistic changes is Balzac's desire for clearness and exactness. His very faults derive from his desire to be clear and accurate, for he sometimes confuses these qualities with completeness of detail. On the whole, however, the style has been increasingly suited to the simple short narrative he is recounting.

The variations deriving from Balzac's realistic method are far from numerous, but they illustrate some of his salient traits. Changes involving his passion for truth are found in all the revisions. An effort to attain truth through greater accuracy of statement is seen from the first proof through the Furne edition. It is also for the sake of truth that some effort is made to correct inconsistencies of time, though Balzac has not concentrated on the time element when the psychological problem is more important. A number of variations involve money and things, but there is no tendency toward exaggeration of materialism. Sociological changes show Balzac continually striving to record society faithfully. *Dossiers* are inserted to build up social and biographical backgrounds. Additions to a legal contract illustrate Balzac's desire to expand the novel with technical documents. Two semitechnical digressions treat briefly of archeology and of semantics. Solidity, or the effort to link the novel with the *Comédie humaine*, accounts for a shift in the time of the action in the story and for the introduction of a reappearing character. These variations were naturally introduced after the 1832 edition and were made respectively in the Béchet and Furne texts.

When we turn to the changes involving the technical elements, we find that the plot and composition of the story are only slightly affected by the variations. A number of blocks of material which were transposed in the first proof show that Balzac had some trouble with organization. Passages of narration and dialogue inserted in the second edition add interest to the novel and contribute to the proportion and harmony of the composition. The sociophilosophic passage appended to the end of the story after the first edition is an example of the long-windedness of which Balzac is capable at times. The addition spoils the conclusion of the novel and so, from the point of view of technique, is unfortunate. As an example of his generalizing tendencies, the addition is, however, characteristic. A num-

ber of insertions are concerned with descriptions and characterization. Both the milieu and the characters are consistently built up from version to version by means of added details. This process exemplifies one of the cardinal principles of Balzac's literary method—his analytical technique.

As regards the realistic variations, the most important revisions were made for three texts: the first edition; the second edition, when the story was transferred from the *Scènes de la vie privée* to the *Scènes de la vie de province*; and the Furne, or first edition of the *Comédie humaine*. The most significant changes introduced for the *princeps* were the *dossiers* of Mme de Listomère, Mlle Salomon, and M. de Bourbonne. Salient in the Béchét edition are the variations which stress Balzac's sociological bent. A number of these serve to fit the story more completely into the *Scènes de la vie de province*; they frequently add a darkening touch to the picture and tend to bring out the somberness and mediocrity of provincial life. The second edition is also important because of additions which enrich the characterization in the novel and of other inserted fictional elements which perfect its composition. The Furne text is notable for the introduction of a reappearing character. It should be borne in mind, however, that *Le Curé de Tours* was well conceived in its main lines in the manuscript and that the realistic variations are, for the most part, small alterations. Nevertheless, these little changes in the aggregate contribute, in some measure, to the impression of reality which characterizes the novel.

If we examine Table 1 (p. 196) we note that the realistic variations increase after the first edition. This fact is largely accounted for by the details which Balzac added, particularly in Béchét, to round out characters and descriptions and by the small alterations which he made to set his story snugly in its proper niche. Contrary to the realistic variations, the stylistic variants are more frequent in the early versions of the novel through the *princeps*. The author would naturally make every effort to give his prose the most perfect finish possible before publication. The slowness with which the narrative portions of the text evolved, as compared to the swiftness with which the dialogue took form, is a salient feature of these variations, as it is, in fact, of Balzac's genius.

The realistic variations in their scope and variety are characteristic of Balzac's method, which aimed to portray with absolute fidelity the nineteenth-century comedy of manners and men which the author was watching. The stylistic changes bear mute witness to the price he paid in following his ideal.

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